

PRINCES AND PRINCELY CULTURE 1450–1650

VOLUME TWO

BRILL'S STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

General Editor

A.J. VANDERJAGT, University of Groningen

Editorial Board

M. COLISH, Oberlin College

J.I. ISRAEL, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

J.D. NORTH, University of Groningen

W. OTTEN, Utrecht University

R.H. POPKIN, Washington University, St. Louis-UCLA

VOLUME 118/2



PRINCES AND
PRINCELY CULTURE
1450–1650

VOLUME TWO

EDITED BY

MARTIN GOSMAN
ALASDAIR MACDONALD
ARJO VANDERJAGT



BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON
2005

Illustration on the cover: Porte Saint Denis, with Pepin and Charlemagne. Bref et Sommaire recueil, Q4^r.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Princes and princely culture, 1450-1650 / edited by Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald, Arjo Vanderjagt.

p. cm. — (Brill's studies in intellectual history, 0920-8607 ; v. 118)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 90-04-13572-3 (v. 1); ISBN 90-04-13690-8 (v. 2)

1. Europe—History—15th century. 2. Europe—History—1492-1648. 3. Princes—Europe—History. 4. Europe—Court and courtiers. 5. Europe—Kings and rulers. 6. Art patronage—Europe—History. 7. Politics and culture—Europe—History.

I. Gosman, Martin. II. MacDonald, A. Andrew (Alasdair Andrew), 1954- . III. Vanderjagt, Arie Johan. IV. Series.

D203 .P75 2003

305.5'22'09409031-dc22

2003061017

ISSN 0920-8607

ISBN 90 04 13690 8

© Copyright 2005 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill Academic Publishers,
Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

*Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Preface	vii
Contributors	ix
List of Plates	xi
Pope Pius II and the Idea of the Appropriate Thematisation of the Self <i>Zweder von Martels</i>	1
Princes and Culture in the Fifteenth-Century Italian Po Valley Courts <i>Rinaldo Rinaldi</i>	23
The Motivation for the Patronage of Pope Julius II <i>Christine Shaw</i>	43
Princes and Patriotism: The Self-Representation of Florentine Patricians in the Late Renaissance <i>Henk van Veen</i>	63
Culture and Power in Naples from 1450 to 1650 <i>Davide Canfora</i>	79
Politics and the Occult at the Court of Edward IV <i>Jonathan Hughes</i>	97
Henry VII and Henry VIII <i>D’Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton</i>	129
The Court Culture of England under Elizabeth I <i>Jane Stevenson</i>	191
The Marriage of Matthias Corvinus to Beatrice of Aragón (1476) in Urban and Court Historiography <i>Volker Honemann</i>	213

Charles V	
<i>José Martínez Millán</i>	227
‘Official History’ at the Court of Philip II of Spain	
<i>Richard L. Kagan</i>	249
The Sun and Aurora: Philip IV of Spain and his Queen-Consort in Royal Festival and Spectacle	
<i>Rina Walthaus</i>	277
Bibliography	309
Index	345

PREFACE

The present book is the second of two volumes devoted to princes and princely culture in Europe between 1450 and 1650. The first, published in 2003, contains essays on European courts north of the Alps and the Pyrenees; it also has introductory essays to the entire project by Martin Gosman and Olaf Mörke. This second contribution to court culture discusses selected courts of England and of southern Europe.

The discussions and analyses presented in the ensuing chapters are variously surveys of the self-image of rulers (Von Martels on Pope Pius II and Van Veen on Florentine patricians), of culture and the arts at princely courts (Rinaldi on the fifteenth-century courts of the Po Valley, Shaw on the patronage of Pope Julius II, and Stevenson on the English court culture of Elizabeth I), the relation between culture, politics and power (Canfora on Naples between 1450 and 1650, Hughes on the heady mixture of politics and the occult under Edward IV, Boulton on the first two Tudor sovereigns, and Millán on Emperor Charles V), of court festivals, ceremonies and spectacles (Honemann on the marriage of Matthias Corvinus and Beatrice of Aragón, and Walthaus on Philip IV of Spain and his Queen-Consort), and of the construction of 'official' history at court (Kagan on the court of Philip II of Spain). As in the earlier volume, the articles are essentially multi-disciplinary in focus, and in order to enhance their specific considerations they all include material from other areas and disciplines than strictly their own.

The editors wish to thank the contributors to this and the earlier book for their forbearance and their willingness to quickly answer our queries, and for their painstaking correction of the proofs. It is hoped that this volume meets their expectations and those, too, of its readers. Thanks go as well to Gorus van Oordt who patiently did much of the word-processing. We are pleased that Brill Academic Publishers (Leiden, Boston) is publishing these two volumes in Brill's Studies in Intellectual History; we are grateful to Irene van Rossum of Brill for her sympathetic understanding of unforeseen delays.

CONTRIBUTORS

D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton is Fellow of the Medieval Institute and Concurrent Associate Professor of History, University of Notre Dame.

Davide Canfora is Professor in Italian Philology, University of Bari.

Volker Honemann is Professor of Medieval German Literature, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster.

Jonathan Hughes is an independent scholar.

Richard L. Kagan is Chair of the Department of History, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

José Martínez Millán is Professor of Modern History, Universidad Autónoma, Madrid.

Zweder von Martels is Lecturer in Latin, University of Groningen.

Christine Shaw is an independent scholar.

Henk van Veen is Professor of the History of Art, University of Groningen.

Rinaldo Rinaldi is Professor of Italian Literature, University of Parma.

Jane Stevenson is Reader in Late Latin and Renaissance Studies, University of Aberdeen.

Rina Walthaus is Lecturer in Older Spanish Literature, University of Groningen.

LIST OF PLATES

1. Bernardo Poccetti, frescoes in the Sala grande of the Palazzo Capponi, Florence.
2. Giovanni Bandini, Bust of Baccio Valori, façade Palazzo Valori, Florence.
3. Entrance of Palazzo Valori, with the bust of Cosimo I, Florence.
4. Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Empresas políticas: empresa 99*. (edited by Quintín Aldea Vaquero) Madrid, Editora Nacional, 1976, p. 901.
5. *Noticia del recibimiento i entrada de la Reyna nvestra Señora Doña Maria-Ana de Avstria en la muy noble i leal coronada Villa de Madrid*, 1650, title page. Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid (R 4308). Photo reproduced by the Laboratoria Fotográfico of the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.

FIGURES 1–3*

FIGURES 4–5**

* Figures 1-3 taken from *Princes and Patriotism. The Self-Representation of Florentine Patricians in the Late Renaissance* by Henk van Veen.

** Figures 4-5 taken from *The Sun and Aurora: Philip IV of Spain and his Queen-Consort in Royal Festival and Spectacle* by Rina Waltheus.



Fig. 1. Bernardo Poccetti, frescoes in the Sala grande of the Palazzo Capponi, Florence.

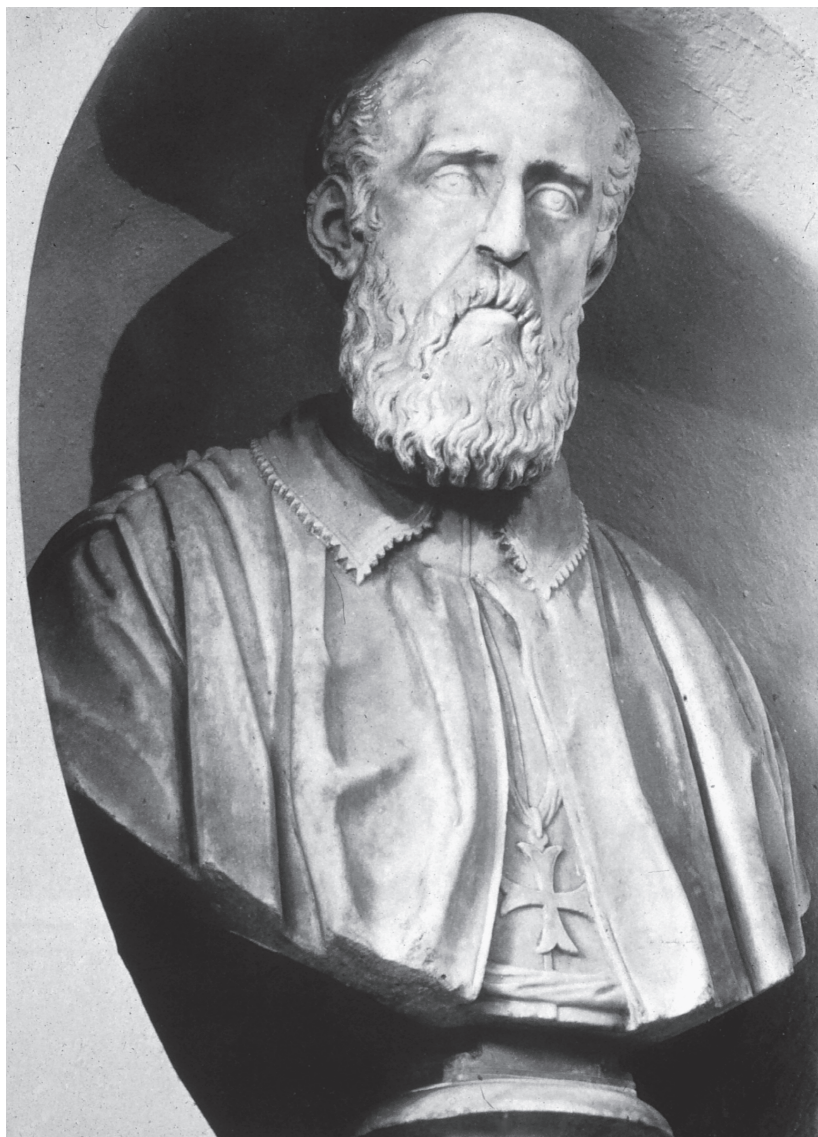


Fig. 2. Giovanni Bandini, Bust of Baccio Valori, façade Palazzo Valori, Florence.



Fig. 3. Entrance of Palazzo Valori, with the bust of Cosimo I, Florence.

EMPRESA 99



Fig. 4. Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Empresas políticas*: empresa 99. (edited by Quintín Aldea Vaquero) Madrid, Editora Nacional, 1976, p. 901.



Fig. 5. *Noticia del recibimiento i entrada de la Reyna nvestra Señora Doña Maria-Ana de Avstria en la muy noble i leal coronada Villa de Madrid*, 1650, title page. Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid (R 4308). Photo reproduced by the Laboratorio Fotográfico of the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.

POPE PIUS II AND THE IDEA OF THE APPROPRIATE THEMATISATION OF THE SELF

Zweder von Martels

Four years before his death, Pius II predicted that he would die preparing for a war against the Turks.¹ This is just one example of the conviction with which Pius (or Aeneas, as I shall call him when I refer to the period before his pontificate) approached the consequences of the task he had set himself: a crusade against the Turks. Many other instances of self-reflection can be found in his *Commentarii rerum memorabilium que temporibus suis contigerunt* ['Commentaries of memorable things that occurred during his time'], written in the final years of his pontificate. The preface of this work is revealing, and it shows how much Pius cared about his reputation. His words radiate a remarkable self-confidence, as when he predicted with precision the course of his future fame.² Speaking about himself in the third person he wrote:

When he is dead, he will be praised; and men will desire him when they can no longer have him.³ After his death Envy will be still and when those passions which warp the judgment are no more, true report will rise again and number Pius among the illustrious popes.⁴

Fame is the main subject of the brief preface. This desire for immortal fame may seem somewhat strange on the part of a pope, but Pius remained faith-

¹ As related by Giovanni Campano who had seen the following prophetic verse written by the pope himself: *In Turchas bellum dum parat, occubuit* (Zimolo, *Le vite di Pio II*, p. 78).

² Such firm self-confidence is reminiscent of Ovid, who at the very end of his *Metamorphoses* (15.871-879) predicted the eternal fame of his poem as something obvious. This seems to be the confidence of two men who are sure that their natural talents and learning will ensure the high regard of posterity.

³ This prediction came true all too soon: Agostino Rossi, the Milanese ambassador, remarks that barely a year after Pius's death the great qualities of the pope were sorely missed: *el più expeditivo, el più libero pontifice che fusse may* ['The most expedient and independent pope that ever was'] (Märtl, 'Alltag an der Kurie', p. 145).

⁴ *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 29 (*Praefatio*); Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 9.

ful to an old belief, shared with other humanists, that great men will be immortalised in literature.⁵ The same preface shows that he understood the psychological effect of this immaterial reward, and regarded it as an encouragement to carry the burden of his high function until the end:

while men live they take pleasure in the glory of the present, which they hope will continue after death. It is this which sustains the most brilliant intellects even more than the hope of a celestial life ...

From these words it is clear that Pius was aware that the prospect of fame depends to a great extent on its advocate. In line with his personal management of the affairs of his pontificate, Pius did not leave this task to others. Following the example of Julius Caesar's *Commentaries*,⁶ in or around 1462 Pius began both to write and to dictate an apologetic account of his life prior to his election, and of the years of his pontificate, adding surveys and comments on the history of his own age. The self-image that emerges from this work is twofold: on the one hand, while Pius depicts himself as a man destined to become pope, he would also have the reader believe that this was an instant of divine mercy rather than of fortune. It was divine mercy which had saved him on various occasions both before and after his election,⁷ and 'it was certainly of the Holy Ghost' that two-thirds of the Sacred College elected him pope.⁸ The other, more dominant, picture is that of a man proud of the force of his eloquence. This is what is transmitted later by historians and repeated, among others, by Jacob Burckhardt, who gave Pius a place of honour in his study of the culture of the Italian Renaissance. The Swiss historian particularly emphasised Pius's eloquence, which he placed in the context of the love of rhetoric in fifteenth-century Italy:

⁵ The humanist idea of immortal glory is rooted in the writings of favoured authors like Cicero and the great Latin poets. Though from Late Antiquity this notion was attacked by many Christians, Pius seems to agree with Augustine's realistic view that glory is to be regarded as a reward and a compensation for the burdens connected with public responsibility. On this see Vermeulen, *The semantic development of Gloria*, p. 49; for the classical concept of *gloria* see Leeman, *Gloria*; for Pius, see my 'The Central Position of the Authors of Late Antiquity', p. 608.

⁶ Cf. Van Heck, 'Amator uetusti ritus', pp. 125; see also notes 38 and 42 below.

⁷ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 19 (the shipwreck in Scotland), 25 (saved from a serious illness in Milan), 28 (saved from sickness in Basel), etc.; for the Latin see *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 36, 38, 39-40 (I, 6, 8, 9).

⁸ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 104; for the Latin, see *Pii secundi Commentarii* (eds Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 84 (I, 36).

It was not for nothing, in the first place, that the ambassadors from one State to another received the title of orators. Whatever else might be done in the way of secret negotiation, the envoy never failed to make a public appearance and deliver a public speech, under circumstances of the greatest possible pomp and ceremony. As a rule, however numerous the embassy might be, one individual spoke for all; but it happened to Pius II, a critic before whom all were glad to be heard, to be forced to sit and listen to a whole deputation, one after another ... Pius himself through all his life did much by his oratory to prepare the way for his final elevation to the Papal chair. Great as he was both as scholar and diplomatist, he would probably never have become Pope without the fame and the charm of his eloquence. 'For nothing was more lofty than the dignity of his oratory'. Without doubt this was a reason why multitudes held him to be the fittest man for the office even before his election.⁹

A little later in his book, Burckhardt notes first that the character of speeches in that age differed widely according to the individual. He then observes that 'those speeches breathe a spirit of true eloquence which keep to the matter treated of'. An example of this 'is the mass of what is left to us of Pius II'.¹⁰ This eloquent pragmatism on the part of Pius can be recognised in his own description of the conclave of cardinals¹¹ when he was elected. It was not Pius's charm but his clever persuasiveness in making firm resistance to the corrupt French cardinal of Rouen, and to the future domination of Italy – their 'fatherland' (*patria*) – by that same French cardinal, that convinced the Italian cardinals, who comprised the majority in the conclave, to turn away from the Frenchman. Cardinal Aeneas warned of the dire consequences of a wrong choice and argued that his life-long poverty and his love of poetry – which the French Cardinal had impugned¹² –

⁹ Burckhardt, *The Civilization*, p. 139.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 142. Later Burckhardt reveals his abhorrence of most Renaissance Latin oratory: 'Many orators, on the contrary, would seize the opportunity, not only to flatter the vanity of distinguished hearers, but to load their speeches with an enormous mass of antiquarian rubbish. How it was possible to endure this infliction for two and even three hours, can only be understood when we take into account the intense interest then felt in everything connected with antiquity'.

¹¹ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, pp. 93-104; for the Latin texts see *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 78-85 (I, 36).

¹² The words of the cardinal of Rouen were as follows: 'What is Aeneas to you? Why do you think him worthy of the papacy? Will you give us a lame, poverty-stricken Pope? How shall a destitute pope restore a destitute church, or an ailing pope an ailing church? He has but recently come from Germany. We do not know him. Perhaps he will even transfer the Curia thither. And look at his writings! Shall we set a poet in Peter's place? Shall we govern the Church by the laws of the hea-

were worthy assets, for they armed him against a French pope who might rob him of his sources of income. His eloquent words on this matter were as devastating to his adversary's feelings as was the silence (*taciturnitatem*) which turned the French cardinal pale in the initial stages of the conclave. Aeneas was aware that this strategy would 'prove far more effective than the barking of the rest'.¹³

This example shows that for Pius II, eloquence was primarily an instrument to pave the way for his ambition rather than merely serving for decoration and pleasure. In his speeches and writings eloquence is always the vehicle for his political, moral and literary ideals, and, as the account of the conclave shows, much depended on the author's refined sense of what was appropriate. More than any other concept, the idea of the 'appropriate' (*aptum*) helps to explain Pius's behaviour and success.¹⁴ In his writings, the word *aptum*, its derived forms and equivalent expressions are quite common.¹⁵ They are often used as an indication of the boundaries within which the author thinks he ought to stay. This central role of the appropriate in Pius's life should come as no surprise, because the idea of the appropriate already played a dominant role in Cicero's rhetorical and philosophical

then?' (Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, pp. 95); for the Latin, see *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 79 (I, 36)).

¹³ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 95; for the Latin, see *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 79 (I,36). For a similar example, where silence is preferred as being more appropriate than words, see Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel* (Fontes 68, p. 166: Aeneas's letter to Nicolas of Cusa, May 24, 1553: *itaque malo silere quam ineptus videri* ['and so I prefer being silent to seeming silly']).

¹⁴ This idea of the appropriate is lacking in the traditional discussions on the character of Pius's words and actions, although it is close to Burckhardt's observation on Pius as a depicter of his time (*The Civilization*, p. 181): 'we must ... admit that in few other men was the picture of the age and its culture so fully reflected, and that few came nearer to the normal type of the men [Burckhardt, in the German edition, uses the word 'Normalmensch'] of the early Renaissance'. For an explanation of Burckhardt's idea of 'Normalität', see Widmer's (historical) reflections (*Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, pp. 4-5), which are partly incorporated in Esch's conclusion ('Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II.', p. 114): 'eine Einordnung, die leicht mißverstanden wird (als alltägliches Mittelmaß, als mangelnde Originalität) und doch nur die zurückhaltende Auslegung der zutreffenden Beobachtung ist, daß man das, was seine Zeit wollte und empfand, so lebensvoll und so umfassend an kaum jemandem besser begreifen kann als an Pius. Denn bei ihm hat man "das Gefühl, auf das Lebendige der Frührenaissance zu stoßen": so wie er die Dinge ansieht, wirkt seine Darstellung (um es im Gegenbild zu sagen, weil der Humanismus seiner Zeit nicht ganz frei davon ist) ganz unangestrengt, undroktinär, und ohne belehrenden Ton'.

¹⁵ Apart from *aptus*, and *ineptus*, of course, a host of other words or expressions with which the (in)appropriate can be indicated can be found, including (*in*)*dignus*, (*in*)*honestus*, (*in*)*decorus*, (*in*)*decet*, *accomodatus*, *aequus*.

works, which Pius admired and eagerly studied in his younger years. In the present paper I attempt to examine Pius's administration of the Church from this perspective: where did he place his emphasis and why? How did he portray himself, and communicate his ideas to the people, and with what consistency? Before discussing these themes, a brief introduction to the idea of the appropriate is needed.

Neither in Cicero's writings nor in those of any other ancient Latin author is the term *aptum* comprehensively discussed in a theoretical and systematic way.¹⁶ The same is true of Aeneas's writings. The meaning of the word is easy to conceive, its application more difficult, and above all it must be learned in practice. The concept is usually mentioned in relation to teaching on style and rhetoric, but in reality it has a much broader significance. In his rhetorical works, Cicero taught that each discourse must be appropriate to the speaker, his audience and the circumstances. This means that the speaker should not only take his own intentions and expectations into account, but also those of his listeners, as well as the situation in which they find themselves. Much of this can be found in the following passage from Cicero's *De oratore* 2.4.17, which gives the idea of the appropriate (*aptum*, or 'tact' as it is translated in the quotation below) a higher status than any of the rhetorical or generic categories:

I have always thought that, of all the words in the Latin language, none has so wide a significance as this word [namely *ineptum*, 'tactlessness'] that you have just used. Of course the man whom we call 'tactless' (*ineptum*) seems to me to bear a title derived from his want of tact (*quod non sit aptus*), and this is most amply illustrated in our ordinary conversation (*sermonis nostri consuetudine*), inasmuch as whosoever fails to realise the demands of the occasion (*tempus quid postulet*), or talks too much (*plura loquitur*), or advertises himself (*se ostentat*), or ignores the prestige of convenience (*vel dignitatis, vel commodi rationem non habet*) of those with

¹⁶ According to Cicero, the Greeks suffered most from tactlessness (*ineptum*); they did not even have a word for it. He added: 'But of all the countless forms assumed by want of tact, I rather think that the grossest is the Greeks' habit, in any place and any company they like, of plunging into the most subtle dialectic concerning subjects that present extreme difficulty, or at any rate do not call for discussion (*de rebus aut difficillimis, aut non necessariis, argutissime disputare*); these remarks follow on from the one quoted below (for the reference, see the following note). It is worth remembering that Renaissance humanists not only adopted Cicero's judgment of the Greeks, but also his awareness that the Romans were much indebted to Greek literature and art. In other words, there was no great danger that they would regard Cicero's quotation as absolute and final.

whom he has to deal, or, in short, is in any way awkward or tedious (*aut inconcinuus, aut multus*), is described as ‘tactless’ (*ineptus*).¹⁷

In other words, the appropriate (*aptum*) is not only connected with an aesthetic criterion (often expressed by the word *decorum*),¹⁸ but also with factual, social and psychological elements.¹⁹ It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that Cicero himself, notwithstanding his striving for perfection in accordance with the rules and his ideal of the perfect orator,²⁰ did not hesitate to act in breach of his own theoretical precepts, if circumstances required it.²¹ That this was the case is also suggested by the passage in which the Roman writer criticised a Greek who had never seen a foeman or a military camp, but who dared to lecture Hannibal on military matters:

Just so do all those seem to me to behave who lay down rules for the art of speaking, for they are for teaching others, a thing with which they themselves are unacquainted.²²

Aeneas knew this work by Cicero and was also well acquainted with the discussions on the ethical *decorum* in Cicero’s *De officiis*,²³ which he often quoted or paraphrased.²⁴ Like Cicero, Aeneas was convinced that eloquence

¹⁷ Cicero, *De oratore*, 2.4.17 (Sutton, transl.). I have left the translation of the words *aptus* and *ineptus* unchanged; *aptus* may also be translated by, for instance, ‘appropriate’, ‘fit’, ‘proper’, ‘suitable’; *ineptus* by the opposites of these words and also by ‘absurd’, ‘silly’ and ‘tasteless’.

¹⁸ *Decorum* is not quite synonymous with *aptum*, the meaning of which is more basic and approaches the English idea of ‘common sense’. *Decorum*, according to Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.27.93-94 (Miller, transl.), is almost the same as *honestum* [‘noble’, ‘fine’]: ‘the difference [between *decorum* and *honestum*] can more easily be understood than explained’. See also Cicero, *Orator*, 69-70: *Ut enim in vita sic in oratione nihil est difficilius quam quid deceat videre* [‘For as in life, nothing is more difficult in speech than to see what is becoming’ (my translation)]. For ethical *decorum*, see below.

¹⁹ For this division into categories of relevance, see Von Albrecht, *Cicero’s Style*, pp. 216-217, based on his earlier treatment of the same subject in ‘M. Tullius Cicero: Sprache und Stil’, cols.1240, 1257 and 1346.

²⁰ Von Albrecht, *Cicero’s Style*, p. 145.

²¹ Modern scholars increasingly accept this view (*ibidem*, p. 7).

²² Cicero, *De oratore*, 2.18.76 (Sutton, transl.).

²³ Cicero, *De officiis* 1.93-151, esp. 99, 134, 142 and 144 (Miller, transl.); Leeman, Pinkster and Nelson, *M. Tullius Cicero*, vol. II, p. 211. For Aeneas, see the following note.

²⁴ For examples of Aeneas’s use of Cicero’s *De officiis*, see Nederman, ‘Humanism and Empire’; Van Heck, ‘*Amator uetusti ritus*’, p. 125; Aeneas also referred to Cicero’s discussion on *decorum* in *De officiis* in his letter (summer 1443) to Johan-

is less effective if it is not rooted in wisdom (*sapientia*). Wisdom, as he describes it in a didactic letter on education, not only consists of the seven liberal arts, 'but professes the knowledge of all divine and human things and causes *omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum ac causarum ... scientiam*, by which these things are held together'.²⁵ It is easy to understand why humanist teachers like him, in imitation of authors like Cicero and Quintilian, placed so much emphasis on erudition, which, according to their educational programme, was to a large extent ethically motivated. In other words, it was meant to guide a man in life. In short, this view returns to the identification of inept (*ineptus*) with ignorant (*ignorans*), and of appropriate (*aptus*) with learned (*doctus*), and also to the contrast between reason (*ratio*) and silly (*ineptus*), which are regularly found in some way or other in Aeneas's writings.²⁶ In practice, this means that the reader of his writings encounters remarks ranging from 'in an oration everything must be adapted to its subject',²⁷ to the remark that being in love is appropriate for a young man, but it makes an old man a laughing stock.²⁸ That even the latter observation has a serious undertone can be illustrated by the following case: in 1443, Aeneas felt almost proud, and certainly not ashamed, when he wrote to his father about the birth of his own illegitimate son, who had to be edu-

nes Campisius on the meaning of *turpis* and *deformis* (Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel* (Fontes 67), pp. 159-160). The impression that Aeneas was always very interested in the ethical rules of life is enhanced by his acquaintance with Ambrosius's *De officiis ministrorum libri tres*, 'a work not to be despised' (Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel* (Fontes 67), p. 143: Aeneas to King Ladislaus, February 1450). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that Aeneas recommended (among only a few contemporary authors) Francesco Barbaro's *De re uxoria*, which Poggio Bracciolini, in a dedication letter, called a *De officiis* for women (see Barbarus, *De re uxoria*); for Aeneas's recommendation of this work, see Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel* (Fontes 61), p. 229: Aeneas to Duke Sigismund of Austria, 5 December 1443.

²⁵ Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel* (Fontes 67), p. 157: Aeneas to King Ladislaus, February 1450. The inclusion of the divine in addition to an interest in human things and their higher hierarchical status had been a convention in Latin literature since Cicero. For other examples, see my 'The Kaleidoscope of the Past', p. 99.

²⁶ Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel* (Fontes 68), p. 320: Aeneas to P. da Noceto, 18 October 1453: *an vobis probato et doctissimo viro meas ineptias aperirem* ['should I reveal my sillinesses to an approved and very learned man?']; Mansi, *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*, vol. I, p. 8: *Quod si quid inepte dixerō, repudiate; si quid cum ratione attulero suscipite* ['if I have said anything inappropriate, take no count thereof; if I have done anything reasonable, hold fast thereto'].

²⁷ Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel* (Fontes 68), p. 246: Aeneas to Piero da Noceto, 3 September 1453: *sed pressa sunt omnia, et rei subjectae aptata*.

²⁸ Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel* (Fontes 61), p. 245: Aeneas to Duke Sigismund of Austria, 13 December 1443: *aetas illa amori inepta*.

cated by his father and mother.²⁹ Yet not much later he felt himself too old for Venus:

my powers have declined. I am sprinkled with grey hairs; the muscles are withered; the bones, rotten, the body is shrivelled with wrinkles. Neither am I able to bring pleasure to a woman; nor is a woman able to give pleasure to me.³⁰

In short, these thoughts fitted Aeneas out for the celibacy and the priesthood. Much later, Pius may have been thinking of this time in the past and blessed his decision, when, with revulsion, he described Pandolfo Malatesta's degeneration, 'a man who had no regard for honour or religion':

In war he was a coward and a runaway; at home a drunkard and a braggart, and he lived the life of a glutton and the most shameful of seducers among harlots. When he was old and could not satisfy his lust as he wished, he would have naked women brought in to him and youths to lie with them, so that the intercourse of others might call out his own powers. Among the women he often made use of was a very beautiful girl whom he especially loved. When because of his age and infirmity he could not satisfy her, he brought in to take his place the young Marquis of Bergamo ... a lad in the bloom of youth and a buffoon by nature. He coupled concubine with concubine and often let him sleep between them.³¹

What was fitting for a poet, a secretary, the ideal prince, a priest, or pope? Such questions interested Aeneas, the humanist, secretary and advisor, as much as Pius, the pope, since the different answers to these questions had much to do with the way he filled these positions appropriately. He found that the answers were the results of ancient experience, and it is because

²⁹ Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel* (Fontes 61), pp. 510-513, Aeneas to his father, 20 September 1443. For a discussion of the arguments (partly drawn from pagan sources) of Aeneas, poet and orator, see my 'The Fruit of Love', pp. 231-242; during his pontificate, Pius reacted with fury when Jean Jouffroy, Bishop of Arras, defended – using pagan examples – the incestuous passion of Count Jean of Armagnac for his sister with pagan examples; for Pius this was an example of inappropriate behaviour for a bishop; see my 'The Fruit of Love', pp. 243-245.

³⁰ Wolkan, *Briefwechsel* (Fontes 67), pp. 31-32: Aeneas to Johann Vrung, 8 March 1446. For the translation, see Izbiccki, 'Reject Aeneas!', pp. 187-188. See, also Wolkan, *Briefwechsel* (Fontes 61), pp. 580-581: Aeneas to Johann Vrung, 15 November 1445.

³¹ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 660; *Pii secundi Commentarii*, eds. Bellus and Boronkai, vol. I, p. 471 (X, 13).

their very antiquity recommended them that he was much more inclined to follow them. Thus he wrote about the ideal secretary, that he:

is only worthy of that name if he is able to choose and construe his words appropriately. He must be versed in the art of quietening and exciting the passions; let humour, witty sayings and erudition – worthy of a liberal man – shine forth in his writings; he must possess all the virtue of the olden time and the force of the examples; he ought to know the boundaries of the laws and civil law; finally he must be able to write in good order, elegantly, by heart and prudently about everything which has happened and which must be explained in writing.³²

More complicated qualities are needed for the ideal prince, and once he himself had become pope, Pius must have remembered what he once desiderated from the ideal leader. In a letter of 1443, Aeneas had claimed that no-one could become a famous man or prince if his natural talents were not supplemented by learning. He mentioned the example of Alexander the Great who, taught by Aristotle and Callisthenes, attended philosophical discussions even during his campaigns.³³ In a letter to King Ladislaus, Aeneas reminded him of a Roman emperor who had urged the French king to give his children a good education, adding that ‘an illiterate king is like a crowned donkey’ (*quasi coronatum asinum*).³⁴ Another early formulation of his thoughts concerning the responsibility and duty of princes is to be found in the oration which he held for Pope Nicholas V on 5 June 1452. Combining three short passages from Cicero’s *De officiis*, he stated that the king is chosen by the people to protect the latter from injustice; and second, that kings are not chosen to benefit from the state, but the state should benefit from the actions of the king.³⁵ The ‘prince’ of Antiquity on whom Pius modelled himself to a certain extent was Julius Caesar,³⁶ a man of ‘the

³² *Libellus dialogorum de generali concilii auctoritate et gestis Basiliensium*, in: Kollarius, *Analecta monumentorum*, vol. II, pp. 685-790, esp. p. 754.

³³ Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel (Fontes 61)*, p. 226: Aeneas to Duke Sigismund of Austria, 5 December 1443.

³⁴ Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel (Fontes 67)*, p. 104: Aeneas to King Ladislaus, February 1450.

³⁵ *Aeneae Silvii ... Historia rerum Friderici III Imperatoris*, in: Kollarius, *Analecta monumentorum*, vol II, pp. 1-476.; p. 308. Cf. Cicero, *De officiis*, 2.41, 3.74 and 1.85 (Miller, transl). See for this passage, my ‘The Central Position’, pp. 609-610 as well as my ‘More Matter and Less Art’, pp. 211, 221-222.

³⁶ For the importance of Caesar as a model for Pius and for most of the references below, see Van Heck, ‘*Amator uetusti ritus*’, pp. 125-126.

greatest erudition',³⁷ whom he honoured with subtle compliments. As we have seen, he adopted Caesar's *Commentaries* as the generic example for his own work of that name, and both were written in the third person. In an oration held at Regensburg in 1454, Aeneas referred to Cicero's words, that people will always speak of Caesar's glory.³⁸ Caesar was also praised in the letter which referred to Alexander the Great, for he devoted his days to arms and his nights to literature. Pius said something similar about himself when he wanted to counter the criticism that he used to spend too much time composing and reading literature.³⁹ In addition, Caesar's *Commentaries* are remembered for their eloquence and style. And here, in particular, Aeneas Silvius seized the opportunity to imitate the great Roman leader. Reacting in 1453 to a friend who had praised the style of his letters, Aeneas used images from Cicero's characterisation of the style of Caesar's *Commentaries*. This description of his own style in his letters also felicitously fits the style of his *Commentaries*, and his words, therefore, deserve to be quoted in full:

Yet I acknowledge that I am nude and speak openly, and avail myself of no trappings. I reject all covering, and I do not labour when I am writing, since I do not mention things too high for me or of which I have no understanding. I pass on what I have learned; the man who remains himself, shows himself easily understood by others; the man who is obscure to himself cannot provide light to another. I avoid knotty and long periodic sentences. If elegant words are at hand, I do not neglect to weave them in; if not, I do not search further off, but use what there is. My sole aim is to be understood; yet, I observe how rude and artless my language is and how unworthy that it should disturb the ears of learned men.⁴⁰

Yet, it is clear that more is expected from a pope who is a priest than from a prince. What a priest needs to do and what he must refrain from is summa-

³⁷ Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel (Fontes 67)*, p. 143: Aeneas to King Ladislaus, February 1450, p. 105: *praetereo nostros Scipiones, Fabios, Catones, Marcellos, Cesares, quibus summa laus, summa eruditio fuerit.*

³⁸ Mansi, *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*, vol. III, p. 81.

³⁹ Piccolomini, *Opera omnia*, pp. 281-282 (*In historiam rerum ubique gestarum ... praefatio*); for an interesting discussion of the motto of 'arma et litterae', see Van Heck, 'Amator uetusti ritus', pp. 126-127.

⁴⁰ Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel (Fontes 68)*, pp. 319-320: Aeneas to Cardinal Zbigniew Olesnicki, 27 October 1453 (my translation); for the Latin, compare *fateor tamen, quia nudus sum et aperte loquor, non utor phaleris. vestem omnem rejicio nec laboro cum scribo, quoniam non attingo res altiores et mihi non cognitae ...* with Cicero's words on Caesar (*Brutus*, 262): *Tum Brutus: ... atque etiam commentarios quosdam scripsit rerum suarum. Valde quidem, inquam, probandos; nudi enim sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta ...*

rised in Aeneas's oration, held early in 1445 at the church of St Mary at Aspach, in the diocese of Padua early in 1445, which he had secured as a source of income.⁴¹ His words are mainly paraphrases derived from Cicero's *De officiis*, but his selection suits his new task. After the quotation concerning his own style quoted above, this shows again that reading Cicero had had a radical effect on his way of thinking. And here, too, the character of the older Pius can already be recognised:

What other people think of us we must not neglect; let us not transact things, if we cannot give a good reason; let us not use play and fun as it is excessive, or dishonourable; yes indeed, we shall be so moderate. Prudence is then increased, when the human mind is nourished by learning, thinking, inquiring, acting, seeing, hearing. Nourishment and refinement (*cultus*) of our body must be of importance to our health, and of strength, not of lust. Let us labour on those things for which we are adapted by nature, as long as they are honourable ... Let us remain constant in all the actions and counsel we must take. ... All shameful things should be passed over in silence, but the honourable should be said. Let this be the rule of our speech. Our speech should be gentle, not pertinacious, not contesting, but humour (*lepos*) and pleasantness is required ...⁴²

These examples of Aeneas's awareness that different functions brought different obligations and possibilities with them demonstrate that his pontificate would be bound to change his life drastically. His *Commentaries* contain an unrivalled account of that pontificate, and therefore deserve a brief treatment, before we turn our gaze on the ways used by Pius to achieve his aims, as seen from the perspective of the idea of the appropriate.

It was not just the style of the *Commentaries* but also its form and content suited Pius's ambition to be understood by others. Undeniably, the act of writing always helped him to understand others and his own position, so as to respond properly to all the different people and the realities found on his way. Like Caesar, Pius wrote about himself in the third person so as to convince readers more easily of his sincere and right intentions. This technique creates distance between the author and his subject. It also brings the *Commentaries* closer to what one expects from history, and a history of his

⁴¹ Seeber, *Enea Vergilianus*, pp. 10-19, discusses the description of this event in the *Commentaries* (cf. Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, pp. 32-33); for the Latin, see *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 44 (I, 12).

⁴² Mansi, *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*, vol. I, pp. 23-46 (*Oratio III*), especially, p. 45. For these remarks, see Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.101,106,134 (Miller, transl.).

papacy is what Pius wanted this work to be. This includes the idea that his main task would be to speak the truth, as is to be expected of a historian.⁴³ This idea of 'objectivity' is enhanced by the numerous historical and geographical digressions, the passages with all sorts of information of general human interest, and certainly also by the detailed accounts of events which could throw a negative light on the pope. Examples of this include the clashes between the pope and important members of his entourage, and their criticisms of his policy. The Cardinal of Aquileia, for instance,

asserted in his household and even in a group of prelates that the Pope's projects were childish, and he declared that Pius showed inexperience and lack of foresight in abandoning Rome to lodge with one stranger after another and thinking by his exhortations to draw kings into war and exterminate the Turks, whose strength was unconquerable.⁴⁴

On another occasion, Nicholas of Cusa attacked, among other things, the corruptness of the Church and the lack of reform:

If you can bear to hear the truth, I like nothing which goes on in this Curia. Everything is corrupt. No-one does his duty. Neither you nor the cardinals have any care for the Church. What observance of the canons is there? What reverence for laws? What assiduity in divine worship? All are bent on ambition and avarice. If I ever speak in a consistory about reform, I am laughed at.⁴⁵

It is clear that, despite the honest tone of these passages, Pius's account of history and truth is to a very large degree personal and subjective. Pius is looking for realism. Instead of entrenching himself behind theoretical and

⁴³ For his *Commentaries* as history, see Gragg and Gabel, transl. *Commentaries of Pius II*, p. 10; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 29 (Preface). Aeneas quoted Cicero's adage: *Historia testis temporum, lux veritatis, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis* (*De oratore* 2.9.35) ['History, the witness of the times, light of truth, teacher of life, messenger of Antiquity'] at least six times. Cf. my, 'More Matter and Less Art', p. 211.

⁴⁴ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 293; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 138 (III, 2). Pius's portrait of this cardinal is generally not very favourable.

⁴⁵ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 500; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 351 (VII, 9). Pius reacted severely to the criticism of Nicholas of Cusa, explaining his measures and view in an answer that follows the latter's speech.

abstract discussions,⁴⁶ he tends to conclude his observations with some sort of commonplace statement or with a pronouncement that has proverbial force. Such sayings, which he also applied in his other writings and orations, were loved and remembered⁴⁷ because they gave his audience the impression of enjoying something of special, long-lasting, value. The general sense of subjectivity in his writings is also caused by Pius's remarkable candour about his time and about contemporaries. Although our age may like Pius's unvarnished tone, as the number of new editions of his writings within a short space of time indicates,⁴⁸ Francesco Bandini Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena, in his (first) edition of the *Commentaries* in 1584, deleted countless shorter and longer passages which, after the Council of Trent, were deemed unfit for a pope.⁴⁹ Pius shared this frankness with contemporary humanists such as Poggio and Valla, who also used it as a tactic wherewith to make their messages more persuasive, distracting the attention from some subjects and stressing others. The morality and prudence of his actions is defended by Pius in nearly every chapter of his book. One aspect of this is that the outcome of the vast majority of his deeds and eloquent speeches is described as triumphant, even if this was far from the truth. The first book of his *Commentaries*, summarising fifty-four years of his life,

⁴⁶ This, however, does not mean that there are no hair-splitting subtleties in the *Commentaries*: Pius enjoyed listening to vehement doctrinal disputations between Franciscan and Dominican monks about the nature of Christ's blood spilled during the three days of the Passion. The *Commentaries* contain detailed testimony of this contest. Afterwards, Pius consulted his cardinals, most of whom, like the pope himself, favoured the Dominican view. However, proclaiming a winner seemed inopportune 'for fear of offending the great body of the Minorites preaching against the Turks'; in a bull of 1 August 1464, Pius commanded both parties to refrain from further discussion of the subject (cf. Gragg and Gabel transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, pp. 703-729); *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 506-552 (XI, 7). In general, Pius found that divine nature could be better understood and comprehended by faith than by debate (Platina's life in Zimolo, *Le vite di Pio II*, p. 120).

⁴⁷ Bartholomaeus Platina concluded his life of Pius with a list of such commonplaces of human interest (Zimolo, *Le vite di Pio II*, pp. 119-120). Pius's pronouncements remained popular later as well, and many found their way into Conrad Lycosthenes's *Gnomologia*.

⁴⁸ In the last twenty years, three Latin editions have appeared: *Pii II Commentarii* (by Van Heck, by Totaro and one by Bellus and Boronkai). A new Latin edition with an English translation by M. Meserve and M. Simonetta is currently in press in the 'I Tatti Renaissance Library' series.

⁴⁹ For this and some other literature on the subject, see Esch, 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II.', p. 138. Erasmus envied and emulated Aeneas's candour, but, because of the dangers involved around 1521, began to censure his own letters (see my 'The Fruit of Love', pp. 229-230).

contains good examples of this. Wrong decisions by his opponents are either passed over in silence or ascribed to their false passions – greed, for instance, or hunger for power, or ignorance, or the fickleness of the masses, all things loathed by Pius in such situations.⁵⁰ Apart from this, the subjective character of the *Commentaries* is enhanced by details about Pius's personal style of governing, by examples of his sober, natural lifestyle, and by descriptions of his delightful journeys and vacations in the countryside. It all radiates an atmosphere of expediency, cheerfulness and pleasantness, which Aeneas, in his oration at Aspach, found indispensable. The fine selection of details in his descriptions often betrays a mild form of humour which seem to have lightened the burden of his task.

In answer to accusations levelled against Pius, concerning opportunistic behaviour at different stages of his life, some historians have stressed the continuity in his thoughts and actions.⁵¹ His orientation towards the idea of the appropriate supports this belief. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the different functions that Pius exercised during his life, as 'poet and orator' in the service of both secular and religious masters, and the differences in appropriateness which went with these functions, can easily lead to misunderstandings about his character. Pius himself realised this only too well. In order to avoid being damaged by past errors, in his *Commentaries* he skipped over some 'painful' details – such as his two illegitimate children and his widely read *History of Two Lovers* – and even repudiated some of them in a series of papal bulls; in one of the later he also made his famous pronouncement 'Reject Aeneas, accept Pius'.⁵² Yet, despite such proof that his conscience was never at rest, Pius made every effort to perform his task as he saw fit. Platina quotes him as having said: 'The burden of a pope is heavy, but a fortunate one for a man who bears it well' (*Grave pontificis*

⁵⁰ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 50: 'in so-called democracies there were always found some to put a yoke on the people'; p. 58: 'Some, as is the way of the populace, even hurled abuse at him'; p. 187 'except the Sieneese and the Florentines, who, though under the heel of popular tyranny, wished to make a show of freedom by keeping the keys'; p. 243 'under a popular government nothing is sacred, nothing holy', etc.; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 54, 58, 136 (I, 19, 22; II, 44). For other examples, see Esch, 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II.', p. 115.

⁵¹ Some recent examples include Widmer, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, pp. 27-30 ('Harmonie und Masshalten als Ausdruck von Eneas Leben'), esp. p. 28: 'Auffällig blieb for allem seine innere Kohärenz; mit grossem Recht is darauf hingewiesen worden'; Esch, 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II.', p. 119: '... zumal er, bei allem Gespür für das Opportune, als Papst unverkennbar Grundsätze zu wahren suchte'; cf. also the tenor of Märtil, 'Alltag an der Kurie', p. 145.

⁵² For literature on this matter, see Izbicki, 'Reject Aeneas!', pp. 187-188.

pondus, sed beatum qui bene fert).⁵³ Pius certainly believed that to be the case. This is the general impression of his *Commentaries*, but it does not mean that he indulged in pleasures. In the first place he devoted himself to the duties of his new office, and it is with self-knowledge that he said: 'A noble death should be preferred above a shameful life' (*Generosam mortem turpi vitae praeferendam*).⁵⁴

When Pius was elected, he knew from experience how difficult it would be to achieve his main task, the organisation of a crusade against the Turks, who had conquered Constantinople in 1453. At least two other problems occupied his mind, and influenced his policy against the Turks: the moral degeneracy of the Church, and the protection of the papacy inside and outside Rome. Without a large army of his own and without financial resources, the pope felt weak. Furthermore, he realised that the church had no authority, as few lived up to their duties. Its lack of credibility thwarted his hopes of launching a successful crusade. In short, it was clear to Pius that even greater dangers were looming on the horizon. This deep understanding of the political situation in Christian Europe and of the enormous threat in the East were reason enough for him to follow his own programme, even when trusted counsellors advised there-against. His precarious position and the conflicting needs of his duty are clearly revealed in his own account of a private audience between the Florentine ambassador and the pope in the second half of September 1463. After the ambassador had pronounced his disapproval of the new alliance between the pope and the Venetians against the Turks, Pius answered in a reflective mood:

If we were in your position and neither in holy orders nor honoured with the vicariate of Jesus Christ we should feel as you do and should succumb to your specious reasoning. But the mind of a prince is not that of a private individual nor the spirit of ecclesiastics that of the laity. Many things are tolerated in the people to whom no-one would listen in the clergy ... The princes of this world and governors of cities care not by what means so ever they protect their power so long as they do protect it, and therefore they often violate the law of nations and act contrary to honourable practices ... The people expect the clergy to be so much more righteous than the laity ... If they [princes] neglect religion and the Faith although they are guilty of heinous crimes before God, yet they keep their place among men. But if we are the least remiss in anything concerning the Faith we are at once torn to pieces by the cries of all Christendom. 'See', they say, 'is it becoming that Christ's Vicar should thus postpone the defence of the

⁵³ Zimolo, *Le vite di Pio II*, p. 120.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

Faith? We must have a council to punish his negligence and elect a better man'. In a pope no fault is so small that the nations do not think it enormous. They expect him to be an angel not a man'.⁵⁵

The unwillingness of most princes to participate in a crusade was already known to Pius around 1453, when Constantinople was conquered by Sultan Mehmed. On various occasions he described the discord among the Christian states and princes. This raises the question of why he decided to continue his efforts at the start of his pontificate. The answer can be distilled from his reaction to Nicholas of Cusa, also shortly after the fall of Constantinople. Much attached to the authors of Antiquity, he pronounced in consternation: Greek literature had lost its main source of protection. This caused him to reflect on the vicissitudes of things, and on the role of the Roman Church as protector of the (Latin) literary tradition and, in particular, of the Christian religion:

Nothing exists for ever. What has a beginning, also has an end. Those who are immortalised through literature are still not yet immortal. New doctrines stand up, new styles of literature come into existence, new talents arise, which take away everything; whatever has been before them, they regard as absurd (*ineptum*); look, now the Turks, enemies of Greek and Latin literature, want to make room for their absurdities, and as a consequence they do not allow any foreign book. ... with the Church of Rome (*sede Romana*), literature lives and dies⁵⁶ ... This is a great loss, but a much greater loss is the fact that we see the Christian faith weakened and confined to a small corner.⁵⁷

These words show that he envisaged the complete elimination of the Christian religion by the Turks,⁵⁸ and that the Latin tradition would inevitably go

⁵⁵ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 814; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 596 (XII, 30).

⁵⁶ Interestingly, Lorenzo Valla pronounced a similar view around the same time as to the role of the church had played in the preservation of Latin literature over the ages (Rizzo, *Lorenzo Valla*.)

⁵⁷ Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel (Fontes 68)*, pp. 210-211: Aeneas to Nicholas of Cusa, 24 May 1453 (my translation).

⁵⁸ For a similar statement pronounced by a Hungarian envoy in the last period of his pontificate, see Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 576: '[The Hungarian King] begged that he might not be left alone. If Hungary yielded to the Turks they might expect to see Turkish arms in Italy. He knew Mehmed's purpose: to win over the empire of the west'; cf. *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 411 (IX, 6). Mansi, *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*, vol. II, p. 58: Pius addressed the French ambassadors as follows at Mantua in

with it. The endless series of wars with the Turks in the following centuries go far to prove how realistic were Pius's conclusions. For tactical reasons, the pope, in his later speeches on this matter, avoided the confusion of the central cause of the preservation of Christianity with minor, secondary, causes such as the protection of humanist studies.⁵⁹ After many attempts to mount a crusade, Pius, in 1462, came to a state of utter despair as to his chances of success.⁶⁰ His agile mind then suggested a completely different approach. Addressing Sultan Mehmed, the conqueror of Constantinople, in a long mysterious letter, he analysed the differences between Christianity and Islam and concluded that the Christian belief in the Holy Trinity would be the main obstacle for a peaceful settlement with the Muslim Turks. Pius proposed to his adversary to award him the imperial crown and vacant throne of Constantinople in exchange for the sultan's concession that he would have himself baptised.⁶¹ The letter is a splendid example of Pius's inventiveness. It shows his serious concern with finding a proper solution to the problem of Turkish aggression. However, the pope must have himself forthwith rejected his attempt as unrealistic, and he apparently never sent the letter to its destination. He also kept silent about it, and in his *Commentaries* he hammered away at the necessity for a crusade. Though his answer to the Florentine ambassador betrays his faint hopes of success, it also proves that he at any rate wanted to avoid a Christian defeat that would blemish the church and his own reputation as pope.⁶² The martyrs of the Church, who had once been the saviours of that Church, had now also become his best conceivable example.⁶³

This example of the martyrs takes us to the second theme which preoccupied Pius: the venality of the servants of the Church. In his description of the conclave, he contrasts the luxury and simony of some cardinals with his

1459: 'And he [that is, Mehmed] meditates upon no other thing than the complete eradication of Christianity (*Christianum nomen*), and the annihilation of the memory of Jezus our Lord' (my translation).

⁵⁹ Moreover, in his comments Pius occasionally expressed fears about the temptation of pagan literature and art which might alienate Christians from their religion. Cf. Widmer, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, pp. 77-93.

⁶⁰ For this assessment of the situation, see Pius's discussion with the Milanese ambassador in the spring of 1462; cf. Esch, 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II.', pp. 123-125.

⁶¹ Pius II, *Epistola ad Mahometem II*; for the different views on this letter, see Helmrath, 'Pius II. und die Türken', pp. 124-127.

⁶² It seems right, therefore, to regard the failure of Pius's enterprise at the end of his life not as a tragedy (cf. Rowe, 'The Tragedy') but rather as a personal, moral, victory.

⁶³ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, pp. 823-824; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 603 (XII, 31).

own poverty, and there are more examples in the *Commentaries* expressing indignation about the excesses in which too many members of the church indulged. Near the closure of the twelfth and last book of the *Commentaries*, Pius paints, in sharp colours, the pleasures of power and luxury in an account of the unpredictable behaviour, drunkenness, sexual lust and deceitful conduct of the cardinal of Arras – in what seems a presage of the times of Pope Alexander VI and Cesare Borgia of forty years later.⁶⁴

Right from the beginning of his pontificate, Pius took measures to get a firm grip on the administration of the Church. It was also a first attempt to restore a sense of morality at the curia and among his cardinals. By personally transacting all important business, reducing of the number of his secretaries to only two, and by forbidding his cardinals to apply directly to him with requests for the benefit of others, he centralised power in his own hands and decreased the influence of his cardinals.⁶⁵ In the assignments of favours he showed ‘himself as severe on others as on himself’, as he put it.⁶⁶ Even his devotion to pleasure is often placed in the light of this emphasis on the duties of his office. For instance, although he encouraged and financially supported the celebrations and races held on the feast of St Matthew the Apostle in Pienza on 21 September 1462, he did not attend the races but ‘watched the contests from a very high window with a good deal of pleasure though while they were going on he was consulting with the cardinals on public business’.⁶⁷

Pius transmits a picture of a dutiful and protective master who looks on with a benevolent eye as his subjects dedicated themselves to feasts and plays, thereby revealing their human weaknesses and strengths. Although Pius kept himself aloof from these events, he did take part in a number of ritual ceremonies which he himself organised at the height of his pontifi-

⁶⁴ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 830-835; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 609-613 (XII, 36). For Alexander VI, see Burckhardt, *The Civilization*, pp. 69-73. For other examples of the extravagant lifestyle of some of Pius’s cardinals, see Esch, ‘Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II.’, pp. 126-127.

⁶⁵ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, pp. 125-126; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 95 (I, 6).

⁶⁶ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 129; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, p. 97 (II, 8).

⁶⁷ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, p. 604-606; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, pp. 609-613 (IX, 6). Pius made a similar remark when, a little earlier, he ‘watched’ the boat race on the lake of Bolsena; the Virgilian colours with which he painted both races are an indication that he spoke the truth; in fact, he did not describe so much what he had heard, seen or perhaps invented but what he afterwards imagined on the basis of what he remembered from book 5 of Virgil’s *Aeneid* (cf. Seeber, *Enea Vergilianus*, pp. 20-41).

cate. The wish to relive the miracle of the Christian faith, despite Pius's scepticism about miracles,⁶⁸ and to restore the unity of the faithful, certainly played a role in the great procession held on the occasion of the feast of the body and blood of Christ in Viterbo,⁶⁹ and the festivities at the ceremonious reception of the head of the Apostle St Andrew, who had 'fled' from the Turks.⁷⁰ In a fitting way, streets and squares were prepared, and poor building parts demolished to restore old splendour. Fittingly also, the Pope himself, the cardinals and lower clergymen, and the common people played their role in the events, and at the appropriate moment powerful emotions were unleashed when the people, the cardinals, the pope, everyone, wept and burst into tears. The descriptions of these scenes are as accurate as the preparations had been careful. It reveals Pius as creator, and it is his creating hand which incites his cardinals, the old and the weak, the fat and the unsympathetic, to follow their pope as one group,⁷¹ causing the reader to smile. In the same way, accompanied by the curials and dispatching private and public business en route, he journeyed through the mountains of Amiata and enjoyed the salutations of the people wherever he went, with local herdsmen offering him their humble gifts in awe and respect.⁷²

Pius's long absences from Rome in Mantua, the mountains of Amiata and elsewhere made the people of that city long for his return and the financial benefits which the return of the curia would bring.⁷³ This was welcome news for Pius, whose aim was to strengthen the position of the papacy in and outside Rome. Since time immemorial the city had not been a safe place on account of the competition among its mighty families. Pius's struggle against enemies like Sigismondo Malatesta, who contested the pope's rights to his lands occupied him for several years. This, however, is not the place to discuss these political manoeuvres, which eventually led to a situation in which Pius had solved his main issues and could finally return to his main objective: the struggle against the Turks.

⁶⁸ Burckhardt, *The Civilization*, p. 311: 'A saying of Pius has been recorded ...: "Even if Christianity were not confirmed by miracles, it ought still to be accepted on account of its morality (*honestate*)"'. For this quotation see Platina's life in Zimolo, *Le vite di Pio II*, p. 120.

⁶⁹ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, pp. 551-556; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, pp. 391-396 (VIII, 18).

⁷⁰ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, pp. 525-541; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, pp. 370-382 (II, VII, 2).

⁷¹ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, pp. 531-537; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, pp. 375-379 (VIII, 2).

⁷² Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, pp. 569-574; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, pp. 405-409 (IX, 41-44). For a rich and varied description of Pius's court, see Märkl, 'Alltag an der Kurie'.

⁷³ Esch, 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II.', p. 129.

The examples adduced in this paper have presented Pius as a man acutely aware of how people would judge him. Part of his sense of what constituted appropriate action and eloquence was his vigilance regarding the question of morality, which in essence was determined by his Christian religion. He rightly saw that the authority and credibility of the Church was at stake and his eloquence was tuned to this perception. As far as his actions are concerned the general picture is more variegated, as has been shown thus far. In his youth he once reminded one of his correspondents of Terence's famous adage (*Heauton timoroumenos*, I, 1): 'I am a man; nothing pertaining to mankind do I regard as foreign to me' (*homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto*)⁷⁴ and, indeed, his exploits in love in particular demonstrate what this meant. Having with his election as pope arrived in a powerful position, he lapsed into other faults, for which contemporaries and later historians have reproved him. Though he despised simony, he was guilty of nepotism in relation to many members of his family.⁷⁵ The refashioning of his birthplace Pienza as a lasting memory of his pontificate, and to which he intended to leave an 'ecclesiastical patrimony for family use',⁷⁶ is a manifestation of the abuse of power of which he stands accused. In his *Commentaries*, Pius either passed over these cases of nepotism in silence or manipulated history in such a way that it looked as if others had forced their wishes upon him. In this way he organised the election as bishop of Pavia of the twenty-year old Jacopo Ammanati, who had been adopted into his own family.⁷⁷ Whatever the truth in this case, Pius, as pope, would certainly at that moment not have taken refuge in Terence's adage. Pius's language, moreover, changed with his new function; it is not that it became hypocritical over time – the man remained the same –, but during the course of his priesthood, and especially during his papacy, the language of the Bible begins to oust that of the pagan authors, as was only befitting for a pope. Thus it is Jacopo Ammanati who in the *Commentaries* recounts how, with the same sense of sincerity but with other metaphors, Pius, in his final hours, spoke his last words to his cardinals as follows:

in the past when we were cardinal, and later when we were pope ... we talked with you during many years. The conversation that we had could not

⁷⁴ See Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel (Fontes 61)*, p. 548: Aeneas to the Archbishop of Gran, October 1445.

⁷⁵ Esch, 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II.', pp. 127-128.

⁷⁶ Chironi, 'Pius II and the Formation of the Ecclesiastical Institutions of Pienza', p. 184.

⁷⁷ Gragg and Gabel, transl., *The commentaries of Pius II*, pp. 496-504; *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, pp. 347-354 (VII, 9).

have been without sin, for we are of flesh (*ex carne enim sumus*).⁷⁸ Formerly, namely, we offended God, and we have offended your love (*charitas vestra*). For those things, in which we have sinned against God, may he, who is pious, who is omnipotent, have mercy on me. But for those things in which we have sinned against you, we ask, our most beloved ones, that there be forgiveness with calm minds (*placatis animis*). I recommend to you those who have served us, or who are of our family (*nostri ... generis*). Now farewell. Let the peace of God and the grace of heaven be with you.⁷⁹

Thus we can see that Pius II was more than merely a prince who stimulated culture; he was rather a prince endowed with an untypical measure of self-awareness, one who was acutely aware that there must be a decorum in the relationship between the prince (the man himself, the humanist, the priest, the pope) and the manifestations of the princely culture that he inspired. It is this thematisation of the self that gives Pius's writings their peculiar fascination, and which makes their author into an important yardstick of cultural change.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ A number of scriptural passages come to our mind which emphasise the contrast between the flesh and the spirit and the weakness of the former: John, 3: 6; Rom. 7: 18, 25; 1 Cor. 15: 49-50; Gal. 5: 17.

⁷⁹ *Iacobi Cardinalis Papiensis Commentariorum liber primus*, in: *Pii secundi Commentarii* (ed. Bellus and Boronkai), vol. I, pp. 636-647, esp. p. 644.

⁸⁰ This paper was inspired by my conversations with Fokke Akkerman, Michel Goldsteen, Sjef Kemper, Alasdair MacDonald and Arjo Vanderjagt, whom I wish to thank for their observations and comments.

PRINCES AND CULTURE IN THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN PO VALLEY COURTS

Rinaldo Rinaldi

Historians of Italian culture in the second half of the fifteenth century are perfectly conscious of the fact that it is virtually impossible to over-generalise: Carlo Dionisotti insisted, however, on the 'distinction' between forms and genres, but also between generations and geographical areas, given that every single phase and every court represents an 'individualised' and in some way 'specialised' entity, distinct from all the others.¹ Therefore it is not appropriate to speak of 'court culture' as a whole, but rather of 'culture of the courts', and so to underline the pluricentric and highly differentiated feature of the phenomenon.

Geography, history and marriage policies

However, when taking into consideration the Po Valley, or even a part of that area, the observer cannot fail to notice a series of discernible facts that invite grater nuance.² In fact, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the regions of Lombardy, Emilia and eastern Piedmont tended to form a homogeneous area constituted by cities that were becoming more and more mutually dependent, both politically and economically. Cities such as Milan, Mantua and Ferrara (Bologna and Casale³ should also be included) were bonded in a close network of relations and exchanges, in a kind of equilibrium that was to become even more stable in the second half of the century.⁴

¹ Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia*, pp. 179-199.

² On the Po Valley courts see Tenenti, 'Aspetti' and Cattini and Romani, 'Le corti parallele'.

³ For Bologna see contributions in '*Bentivolorum magnificentia*'. For Casale see Manacorda, 'Galeotto del Carretto' and Turba, 'Galeotto del Carretto'.

⁴ The dynasties referred to in the text during the period concerned are listed below: the years indicated in brackets refer to the actual years of their reign. In Ferrara the d'Este: Niccolò III (1393-1441), Leonello (1441-1450), Borso (1450-1471), Ercole I (1471-1505), Alfonso I (1505-1534). In Mantua the Gonzagas: Gianfrancesco (1407-1444, under the tutelage of Carlo Malatesta until 1413), Ludovico (1444-1478), Federico (1478-1484), Francesco (1484-1519), Federico (1519-1540, under the tutelage of Isabella d'Este for the first few years). In Milan the Sforzas: Frances-

The decisive event that visibly crystallises this sort of economic, diplomatic and cultural *koiné* is the dynastic shift in the duchy of Milan, the most powerful of all northern Italian states and the indisputable political fulcrum. We are obviously referring to the official rise to power of Francesco Sforza in March 1450, following the death of Filippo Maria Visconti and the brief interlude of the Ambrosian Republic. The new despot immediately sought to strengthen his dominion by means of a solid network of alliances in the area, turning to his favour the support of a few minor principalities.⁵

First and foremost, let us consider the House of Gonzaga in Mantua. The Gonzagas had traditionally been in the pay of the Viscontis, commanding troops on their behalf, but from the year 1447 (under the Marquis Ludovico) they had placed themselves at the service of Venice: the same Venice that had formed an alliance with Florence to support the emerging Francesco Sforza against his elderly father-in-law, Filippo Maria. Once having gained possession of Milan, the new duke succeeded in taking Ludovico away from Venice, signing a treaty of alliance with him in November 1450 and confirming it again in 1454 and 1459.⁶

The House of d'Este were in a similar position, in the sense that they were torn between the Milanese and Venetian spheres of power, although they were initially hostile to Sforza and obliged, *oborto collo*, to seal a pact of alliance with him. Niccolò III was in fact on very friendly terms with Filippo Maria, whereas Leonello endeavoured to keep an equidistant position between the various powers at play. Borso d'Este, on the other hand, made no attempt to conceal his partiality towards Venice; however, the Peace of Lodi in 1454, bringing to an end the conflict that had flared up in 1452 between Milan and the Venetian Republic, compelled him to grant a few territorial concessions to Duke Francesco. This diplomatic agreement had the finishing touch put to it in 1455 by the marriage of Borso's half-sister, Beatrice d'Este, to Tristano, the first of the Milanese lord's illegitimate children.⁷

Marriage policies constitute one of the fundamental strategies of Po Valley diplomacy in the second half of the fifteenth century. This was a custom of the times, but, in this particular case, matrimonial ties underlined the homogeneous nature of the area and the close unity of its towns and cities: this cohesion was founded on frequent and numerous exchanges of merchandise, alliances and people (people considered as items of exchange, of

co (1450-1466), Galeazzo Maria (1466-1476, murdered), Gian Galeazzo (1476-1494, under the tutelage of Bona di Savoia until 1480 and of Ludovico il Moro until 1494), Ludovico il Moro (1494-1500).

⁵ Santoro, *Gli Sforza*, pp. 43-51.

⁶ Coniglio, *I Gonzaga*, p. 60.

⁷ Chiappini, *Gli Estensi*, pp. 135-126.

course ...). Thus, in order to cement the alliance between Milan and Mantua, the nuptials between the young Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Susanna Gonzaga, the daughter of Ludovico Gonzaga, were arranged as early as 1450; at the end of lengthy negotiations between the years 1457 and 1465, she was then replaced by her younger sister Dorotea (however, the plan fell through due to the hereditary deformity of the members of the Gonzaga family). Similarly, relations between Mantua and Ferrara were consolidated from 1435, when Leonello d'Este married Margherita, Ludovico Gonzaga's sister; these relations were to become even more intimate in the final decade of the century, after the marriage in 1490 of Francesco Gonzaga with Isabella d'Este, daughter of Ercole I. Once again in the Milan-Ferrara sphere of alliance, two emblematic weddings were celebrated in 1491: that of Anna Sforza, Duke Gian Galeazzo's sister, with Alfonso d'Este, Isabella's brother; and that of another Beatrice d'Este, a daughter of Ercole I, with Ludovico Maria (known as Ludovico il Moro), son of Francesco Sforza and uncle to Gian Galeazzo.⁸

As has already been stated, these family ties form part of an even closer network of mutual economic, military and political interests: they represent the crowning-piece and the triumphal allegory of this union. On a concrete plane, the weddings of the princes also involve large 'transfers' of staff from one court to another: the *familiars* waiting on the bride accompany her to her new residence in the city of her future husband, whether these *familiars* be simple servants or secretaries, court officials or artists, all of whom become closely integrated in their new environment. Marriage policies thus reflect and, at the same time, bring about the integration of the Po Valley courts at various levels: not last in order of importance is the cultural aspect, in the light of the princes' judicious patronage of the arts and letters, a policy aimed at promoting a panegyric image of themselves.

*Legitimacy and propaganda: the imago principis
between encomium and historiography*

One of the fundamental *raison d'être* of court patronage in the Po Valley during the latter half of the fifteenth century is the urge to legitimise (from the point of view of its public image) a political régime which is, legally speaking, not always above board.

An emblematic case is that of Francesco Sforza himself. He arrived in the duchy as a captain of fortune, even if he had married the illegitimate

⁸ Regarding matrimonial policies see, respectively, Coniglio, *I Gonzaga*, pp. 66-71 and pp. 103-106; Chiappini, *Gli Estensi*, p. 105 and pp. 170-177; Santoro, *Gli Sforza*, pp. 253-263.

daughter of the last Visconti, subsequently legitimised. The claims on the duchy advanced by the House of Orléans, the refusal of Emperor Frederick III to grant succession rights to female descendents, even some mysterious testament which Filippo Maria was said to have made in favour of Alfonso of Aragon – these were all factors that induced the new ruler to seek recognition, both for himself and for his successors, from the populace of Milan, thereby promoting his *signoria* as the natural outcome of popular consent and not of a *coup d'État*.⁹ It is therefore not surprising that these same preoccupations permeate the majority of the literary works, written both in Latin and in the vernacular, inspired by the figure and political career of Francesco Sforza. It is not simply a case of unadulterated eulogy, but the reconstruction of a historical event seen from the Prince's point of view. In short, it is an example of genuine propagandistic historiography, opportunely promoting the legitimacy of Sforza's rise to power.

The works inspired by the Sforza 'campaign' belong, indeed, to the most diverse genres and not only, strictly speaking, to the historiographic genre. And it is indeed significant that the first historical adaptation of Sforza's political *coup* is attempted by Francesco Filelfo in an ambitious Latin epic poem, of Virgilian framework and inspiration. Filelfo's *Sphortias*, indeed, sets out to narrate the exploits of the *condottiere* from Visconti's death in 1447 up to the conquest of Milan, with a rigorous manipulation of the events in a mythical and eulogistic key and a thorough purging of all the negative elements (the sack of Piacenza is one example of these). However, the work, undertaken as early as 1451 and continued intermittently until the 1470s, does not extend beyond the tenth book, and it covers only the first year of the period in question.¹⁰ The project is resumed, using different techniques (in the prose typical of historiography), by the humanist Leodrisio Crivelli in the 1470s: his *De vita rebusque gestis Francisci Sphortiae Vicecomitis Mediolanensium Ducis*, however, is left unfinished after the second book and becomes reduced to a mere biography of Francesco's father, the *condottiere* Muzio Attendolo.¹¹ It was almost as if the Sforzas, at this early point in time, were not yet in a position to construct a solid, convincing dynastic historiography. On the contrary, the propagandistic intent – focused in particular on the need to legitimise the new despot – is apparently much more effective in the *Series triumphi Francisci Sfortiae*, another work written in Latin prose by the same Leodrisio Crivelli, describing the *condottiere's* entry into the city of Milan in 1450, together with the *laudatio*

⁹ Santoro, *Gli Sforza*, pp. 27-29.

¹⁰ Rinaldi, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, vol. 1, p. 337. See also Bottari, 'La *Sphortias*'.

¹¹ Rinaldi, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, vol. 1, pp. 482-483.

of the new Prince, the triumphal procession, the conferment of the title of duke, and the acclamation of the populace.¹²

In the same period, the lord of Ferrara was faced with the same problems of legitimisation, although they were not quite so imperative as those of Sforza. Whereas Leonello d'Este, the illegitimate son of Niccolò III, had been acknowledged and officially designated by his father as his legitimate heir, his brother Borso, another illegitimate son of Niccolò, had a rather different story. After Leonello's death, he seized power and excluded the legitimate branch of the family.¹³ Borso's rise to power also gave rise to a proliferation of works, both in Latin and in the vernacular, and in the most diverse genres, narrating in a legendary tone his career and noble achievements. These initiatives were almost invariably charged with a specific political intent, linked to the problem of Borso's investiture and the legitimacy of his political régime, rather than to the prince's personal tastes (Borso was notoriously less cultured than Leonello, with very little inclination for humanistic erudition and artistic refinements).

Let us consider the *Oratio de laudibus Borsii* by Ludovico degli Arienti (1454), the *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este al marchionato di Ferrara* by Michele Savonarola (1454-1461) and the *Borsias* by Tito Vespasiano Strozzi (1460-1470 and 1485-1496).¹⁴ All three works, written after the visit to Ferrara of the Emperor Frederick III, culminating in Borso's solemn investiture and acquisition of the title of Duke of Modena and Reggio (1452), are formally written to celebrate that official occasion. Savonarola in particular, writing his text both in Latin and in the vernacular, accompanies the narration of the story and treatise with overtly propagandistic intents. His first book, centred on a dispute as to the best form of government and interspersed with numerous *orationes*, ends with Borso's election to the marquise by the Ferrarese senate (with the approval of the populace, thus removing all shadow of illegitimacy from his rise to power); the second book, with flawless parallelism, offers a detailed description of the Emperor's visit to Ferrara and Borso's investiture; the third and last book, half-way between the topics of the *speculum principis* and the *institutio principis*, expounds a short treatise on good government.¹⁵ On close inspection, the *Borsias* is not dissimilar in its intent and framework, even within the Virgilian epic genre to which it refers. In fact, the first four books constitute a lengthy

¹² Ianziti, *Humanistic Historiography*, pp. 35-47.

¹³ On the political strategies of Leonello and Borso see the following monographs: Pardi, *Leonello d'Este* and *idem*, *Borso d'Este*. On Borso see also Chiappini, 'Borso d'Este'.

¹⁴ See Rinaldi, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, vol. 1, pp. 126-128.

¹⁵ Savonarola, *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este*. See Mastronardi, 'La 'scrittura' in corte' and *idem*, 'Retorica e ideologia'.

preliminary, culminating in Borso's election to the Senate (described as a providential event, decreed by the Gods and heralded by miracles and prophecies). The following three books are dedicated to Borso's heroic exploits and to the Emperor's visit to Ferrara, emblematically correlated to that of Pope Pius II and to that of the great poet Giovanni Pontano, in an apotheosis which is at once political, religious and artistic. Finally, books VIII-X of the poem, written as late as the 1490s, recount a journey undertaken by Borso as a young man to the Visconti court, lingering with a wealth of detail on the decorations, gardens, banquets, entertainments. This refined fresco of court life thus affords Strozzi the pretext to glorify the long-established alliance between Milan and Ferrara, the long friendship between Niccolò III and Filippo Maria, and also the future alliance which the twin marriages of 1491 would triumphantly seal.¹⁶

However, the best example of historiographic propaganda, linked to the legitimisation of the new prince, is afforded by the Sforza court in Milan towards the end of the century. Ludovico il Moro, acting as regent for his nephew Gian Galeazzo from 1480, also felt the urge to boost his image, with a view to putting himself forward as a candidate for the official succession to the duchy. Not until 1493, and officially in 1495, did he succeed in obtaining formal investiture on the part of the Emperor Maximilian I. However, from his early years of government, he had promoted a wide-ranging cultural policy, in order to bestow importance on the city of Milan and, at the same time, on his own figure as prince and patron of the arts.¹⁷ One of his first initiatives in this direction had been to salvage Crivelli's previous attempt and to commission a historical work commemorating the heroic actions of the founder of the dynasty: the work entitled *Rerum gestarum Francisci Sfortiae Mediolanensium ducis commentarii*, was written in a zesty Latin reminiscent of Julius Caesar by Giovanni Simonetta in the 1470's, but was printed and published – thanks to Ludovico's efforts – only in the years 1481-1483.¹⁸ The author's own figure was a politically significant one: Giovanni was, in fact, a brother to the influential secretary of the Sforzas, a certain Cicco Simonetta, prosecuted and executed in 1480 by Bona di Savoia at the end of her regency, probably due to pressure on the part of the king of France.¹⁹ The fact that the new historiographic work was written by the hand of a member of the Simonetta family therefore implied a continuity of the Sforza régime, at the same time transmitting Ludovico's desire to oppose the chaotic political scenario in the wake of the assassination of

¹⁶ See Ludwig, *Die 'Borsias'*.

¹⁷ For these issues, see contributions in *Milano nell'età di Ludovico il Moro*.

¹⁸ Simoneta, *Historia*. See Rinaldi, 'Figura principis'.

¹⁹ Santoro, *Gli Sforza*, pp. 214-216. See also Simonetta, *I diari*.

Galeazzo Maria. The very fact that the *Commentarii* were circulated in printed form, with an extensive distribution throughout Italy, and that the printing press of the editor Francesco Dal Pozzo was heavily subsidised (the second edition appeared in 1489 and in the 1480s Ludovico commissioned a version in the vernacular of the same work by the Florentine humanist Cristoforo Landino), shows the enormous importance that the new prince attributed to this dynastic exaltation.²⁰ Moreover, Ludovico's viewpoint remained unchanged in the course of the following years: once again in 1497 he promoted and patronised the monumental project of another historiographer, Bernardino Corio, authorizing him to consult the archives of the duchy. When in 1503 Corio published his *Storia di Milano* in the vernacular, printed by Alessandro Minuziano,²¹ he dedicated the work to the brother of Ludovico Maria, Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza, who had courageously shared Ludovico's dramatic fate (his defeat in 1499 at the hands of the French, his short-lived reconquest of the city of Milan and his new exile in 1500). In his wistful commemoration of the two Sforza brothers and emblematic conclusion of his narration in 1499, Corio indeed marked the final curtain of a dynasty which had always dedicated great attention to its own genealogical history and official image.²²

The patron and the arts: court schools and literature

The names of Puteolano and Minuziano are visible evidence of the importance of the initiatives taken by the Sforza dynasty for the establishment and growth of a flourishing printing industry in Milan. The prolific output of books in Milan in the years 1500-1526 – the only cultural centre in the Italian peninsula able to withstand competition from Venice in the Italian peninsula – was to distinguish itself for its remarkable variety. Naturally, we are no longer dealing with works commissioned directly by the régime but, to a certain extent, the dynamism and eclecticism of the Sforza court in the 1480s and 1490s were to permeate the catalogues of publishers such as Agostino da Vimercate, Niccolò da Gorgonzola, Gottardo da Ponte and Giovanni Angelo Scinzenzeler (in addition to the two publishers cited above). These catalogues were not strictly limited to university texts (of a juridical nature) or to religious texts (patristic or liturgical), but they were also open to a variety of contemporary works: both lay and sacred, humanistic and vernacular, in prose and verse.²³ The books printed by other Po

²⁰ Ianziti, *Humanistic Historiography*, pp. 230-231.

²¹ On Minuziano see Dionisotti, 'Notizie'.

²² Corio, *Storia di Milano*. See also Morisi Guerra, 'Introduzione'.

²³ On Milanese printers see Rogledi Manni, *La tipografia a Milano* and Sandal, *Editori e tipografi*.

Valley cities at the end of the fifteenth century, although notably more limited than those of Milan, substantially follow the same pattern.²⁴

The refined eclectic element of northern Italian court culture – preserved and ‘magnified’, as it were, by the printing industry at the end of the century, was already evident around the years 1440-1450: it catered for a very wide array of tastes, ranging from music to art, from lyrical poetry to philosophical treatises, from epic poetry to theology, from Oriental studies to medicine or astrology, in a kind of universalism often elegantly transferred to society debates. Such a variety of interests was also reflected in the concrete financial support granted by the princes to men of letters, scholars and poets, thus promoting the development of schools and universities but, at the same time, encouraging a celebratory type of literature, capable of portraying an idealised image both of court life and of the prince himself (as we have already seen in the historiographic genre).

Within these complex strategies of cultural patronage in the Po Valley area the phenomenon of ‘intellectual mobility’ takes on an increasingly important role during the course of the century. If, on the one hand, the administrative *staff* (secretaries, accountants, chancellors, treasurers, etc.) and the court *familiars* (attendants, pages, artisans, chaplains, men of arms, etc.) appear to be fairly stable and often deeply rooted in the individual cities,²⁵ the humanists and men of letters, on the other hand, move from court to court, often invited by the princes, in a circle encompassing both the prestige of the intellectual and that of the prince himself. Thus, on a biographical and geographical plane, we witness the development of a close network of exchanges and correspondence, with the same names reappearing in different courts: in short, the homogeneous nature of the Po Valley area, which becomes increasingly evident in the political and diplomatic sphere in the second half of the fifteenth century, is also reflected in the cultural sphere, thus giving rise to an authentic *koiné*.

In this system, the patronage given to the arts by the prince, whether directly or indirectly, is put into effect in two distinct but closely connected spheres: the *studium* and the court. The cultural policy of the House of d’Este in Ferrara is a very good example of this interrelation.²⁶ Through the intervention of a few influential local families (notably the Giglioli and Strozzi families), the humanist Guarino Guarini arrived in the city in 1429 and opened a private school modelled on the one that had made him famous in Verona.²⁷ The Marquis Niccolò immediately gave him financial aid and

²⁴ For a brief outline of the printing presses in the other cultural centres, see Rinaldi, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, vol. 2, pp. 1210-1227.

²⁵ Peruzzi, ‘Lavorare a corte’ and Malaguzzi Valeri, *La corte*, vol. 1, pp. 315-327.

²⁶ See Rosenberg, ‘Arte e politica’.

²⁷ Sabbadini, *Vita*, pp. 88-94.

the scholar was accordingly summoned to the court as official orator and, at the same time, as preceptor to the prince appointed to the succession: Leonello. From the year 1427, the grammarian Giovanni Aurispa, a keen collector of ancient manuscripts, was already actively engaged as pedagogue to the Marquis's other son, Meliaduse, upon the request of the Marquis himself.²⁸ In 1430, Niccolò also invited the humanist Giovanni Toscanella to Ferrara to be a tutor for his son Borso.²⁹ Between the years 1430 and 1442 Guarino's strong personality left a modern humanistic print on Ferrarese culture, stimulating a proliferation of erudite debates and rhetorical exercises (grammar, the recovery and correction of manuscripts, oratory, epistolography). Indeed, both court and school constituted a common workshop, as Guarino was at the centre of a talented group of men of letters, translators and Latin poets, such as his ex-pupil Giovanni Lamola, the Sicilian Giovanni Marrasio and many others.³⁰

Yet the master's ideal pupil was Leonello himself, the perfect embodiment of the model of prince and man of letters that all humanists dreamed of as patron and defender of the arts. His education, (along the lines of the new principles of the *studia humanitatis*) coupled with his personal predilection for the arts, enabled the new prince to elaborate a cultural programme of wide proportions.³¹ One of his first decrees was centred on the reform and extension of the university, officially inaugurated in 1442 with a speech by Guarino. Apart from Guarino himself, who dominated the new *Studium* with his enormous prestige, and who delivered both public and private conferences, many illustrious scholars were invited to teach in Ferrara: Teodoro Gaza³² for his mastery of Greek and the Parmesan poet Basinio Basini for his Latin rhetoric. The latter dedicated to Prince Leonello (hailed as 'salus Italiae' and 'spes Italum') an elaborate *Epistola* in verse and in 1448 the mythological poem *Meleagridos*, an ingenious *mélange* of Ovidian traits and Homeric echoes, where Meleager's mythical hunt of the terrible boar represented an allegorical and encomiastic symbol of Leonello's successful peace-making policy.³³

The fact that the figure of Leonello as patron of studies and defender of the arts was becoming a sort of *topos* among contemporary humanists was also demonstrated in the work of another intellectual, who was a stranger to the University of Ferrara. Leon Battista Alberti, present in Ferrara in 1438

²⁸ See Franceschini, *Giovanni Aurispa*.

²⁹ See Gualdo, 'Giovanni Toscanella'.

³⁰ Sabbadini, *Vita*, p. 96.

³¹ Pardi, *Leonello d'Este*, pp. 143-176 and 180-199.

³² See Rinaldi, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, vol. 1, pp. 318-319.

³³ The *Meleagridos* can be read in Basinius, *Opera*, vol. 1, pp. 341-447. See Campana, 'Basinio da Parma' and Rinaldi, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, vol. 1, pp. 526-530.

on the occasion of the Council of the Greci³⁴, had a privileged relationship with Leonello, both before and after that date. He dedicated to the prince a new version of the comedy *Philodoxeos fabula* in 1437 and the *De equo animante*, composed in 1444 on the occasion of the competition for Niccolò III's equestrian statue.³⁵ However, it was mainly thanks to Alberti's dialogue *Theogenius* in 1441 and a few years later to his Lucianesque narration *Momus sive de principe* that the name of Leonello became indissolubly linked with the myth of good government: the first work, explicitly dedicated to the d'Este family, advocated the superiority of the 'principality' over the chaos and corruption rife in the 'republic'; the second was dedicated to an anonymous addressee – who could quite likely be Leonello once more – because the *Momus* was a parody of the court, having the paradoxical significance (as affirmed in the dedication) of an *institutio principis* inverted for didactic purposes.³⁶

However, it was another humanist who specifically presented Leonello as patron of the arts, in the heart of that group of intellectuals who acknowledged Guarino as their leader and guide, both at court and at the university. We are referring of course to the Milanese scholar Angelo Decembrio, who arrived in Ferrara around 1438 and before 1447 wrote the *De politia litteraria variisque poetae Virgilii laudibus*, a dialogue in three books, to which he later (before 1462) added another four.³⁷ The interesting aspect of the work lies in its descriptions: the city of Ferrara, with its streets, gardens and villas and, in the heart of the city, the d'Este court, whose greatest attribute is the enormous library. The library, with its sumptuous furnishings and judicious choice of volumes (with a distinct preference for classical literature) is the perfect image of what really constituted a vital sector of the prince's investment in culture in the second half of the fifteenth century. The d'Este library, passionately and painstakingly supplemented by Leonello, affords an excellent example, but that of Federico da Montefeltro in Urbino³⁸ is equally magnificent: they are places of authentic cultural reference but, above all, they are emblematic places aimed at enhancing the prestige of the prince as patron of the arts.

The years of Borso d'Este's reign in Ferrara were certainly no match for the extraordinary cultural dynamism under Leonello's office: many in-

³⁴ Boschetto, *Leon Battista Alberti*, pp. 116-117.

³⁵ Alberti, 'Philodoxeos fabula', p. 144; *idem*, 'De equo animante', pp. 203-207.

³⁶ Alberti, *Opere volgari*, vol. 2, pp. 55-56 (the *Theogenius* is on pp. 55-104) and Alberti, *Momo*, pp. 22-28. See respectively Boschetto, 'Ricerche', pp. 4-34, and Rinaldi, 'Melancholia Christiana', pp. 108-112.

³⁷ Decembrius, *Politiaie litterariae libri septem*. See Biondi, 'Angelo Decembrio' and Balsamo, 'La circolazione', pp. 659-666.

³⁸ See Michelini Tocci, 'La formazione' and Moranti, 'Organizzazione'.

tellecuals (such as Decembrio, Gaza and Basinio) migrated to other courts after 1450, the new despot not distinguishing himself for his artistic patronage. However, he maintained university culture, and more specifically court culture, at a dignified level. In the university sphere, the following names may be cited: Nicolò Leonicensi, summoned to Ferrara in 1464 as court physician and subsequently an important figure in the *Studium*, also engaged in Greek translation;³⁹ or the humanist Ludovico Carbone, a pupil and colleague of Guarino. Above all, it is not without significance that Leonicensi was also engaged in the vernacularisation of Latin works in Ferrara, and that Carbone, during Borso's *signoria*, took up a career as a vernacular writer of eulogistic dialogues and of a collection of *Facezie* which admirably 'photograph' the atmosphere of the court.⁴⁰ Indeed, vernacular literature was strongly promoted in Ferrara thanks to the initiatives taken by the new prince, who was ignorant of Latin and had a personal penchant for French romances of chivalry. These years engendered the typical profile of fifteenth-century d'Este culture, consisting in the tendency to privilege vernacular lyrical poetry (from Tebaldeo to Boiardo) and chivalric poetry modelled on French examples (from Boiardo to Ariosto).⁴¹

This trend was brought to full fruition by Ercole I, who gave considerable financial support (as will be specified later) to the theatrical sector of court culture. At the same time, however, the prince did not withdraw his patronage of erudite studies, as demonstrated by the lively astrological debates in the *studium* and court (from Pellegrino Prisciani to Luca Gaurico),⁴² the exemplary career of the eclectic Celio Calcagnini and the sojourn in Ferrara of the learned Frisian Roeloff Huusman (Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius), who was awarded the chair of philosophy.⁴³ The harmonious interchange of Latin and vernacular culture at the court of Ercole I, with the constant aim of laudatory celebration, is admirably illustrated by Pandolfo Collenuccio's experiments: his brilliant collection of moral *Apologhi*, inspired by Lucian and Alberti, elegantly alternates both languages while, at the same time, celebrating the mythological figure of Hercules, clearly the *figura* of the d'Este prince under the auspices of the *summa virtutum*.⁴⁴ This is one of the first examples of the 'Hercules' theme, destined to enjoy great popularity in

³⁹ Mugnai Carrara, 'Profilo', pp. 187-188; 190-192.

⁴⁰ Carbone, *Facezie*. See Rinaldi, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, vol 1, pp. 655-656.

⁴¹ On d'Este culture in general, see Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*; Pade, Waage Petersen and Quarta, *La corte di Ferrara e il suo mecenatismo*, *passim*

⁴² Vasoli, *La cultura*, pp. 129-158.

⁴³ Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica*, pp. 147-165.

⁴⁴ Collenuccio, *Operette morali*, pp. 1-100. See Rinaldi, 'Melancholia Christiana', pp. 126-128.

Ferrara in the figurative arts but above all in the epic genre (both in Latin and in the vernacular).

In Ferrara, Niccolò da Correggio and Antonio Tebaldi (known as Tebaldeo), the two most important lyrical poets in the Po Valley area in the late fifteenth century, were working in close contact with the court. Their careers are a perfect illustration of the phenomenon of ‘intellectual mobility’ and cultural exchanges among the various courts. The first of these two men, related to the d’Este family, was a sort of *trait d’union* between Ferrara and Milan but also between Ferrara and Mantua, having worked for a long time in the Sforza court and having kept up a close correspondence with the court of Francesco and Isabella Gonzaga.⁴⁵ As for Tebaldeo, he followed Isabella to the court in Mantua, returning to Ferrara in 1500 as secretary to Lucrezia Borgia.⁴⁶ Mario Equicola, Tebaldeo’s successor as Isabella’s secretary, was very closely connected with Ferrara, being one of Ercole I’s informers.⁴⁷ His famous book, *Libro de natura d’amore*, a treatise written in the early years of the sixteenth century as an authentic encyclopaedia of court manners and culture, was the first attempt at a model subsequently perfected by the Mantuan Baldassare Castiglione in his *Libro del cortegiano*.⁴⁸ However, at the Gonzaga court in Mantua, there was no real patronage of the arts on the part of the prince: the absence of a *studium* was a decisive factor (and ever had been since the times of the Marquis Ludovico), and the bulk of the prince’s subsidies had always been preferentially channelled towards decoration and architecture (as will be specified below). Despite this, there was an abundant literary output linked to the court, in a diversity of genres, all dedicated to the marquises. It is, however, significant that two of the most ambitious celebratory works were not engendered within the court sphere, but were written by a great Latin religious poet, the Carmelite Battista Spagnoli known as Mantovano⁴⁹ – namely, the heroic poems in honour of Francesco Gonzaga, *Tropheum pro Gallorum ex Italia expulsione* (1502) and the *Carmen de fortuna Francisci Gonzagae* (1509). In short, in Mantua we witness a slight ‘detachment’ between literature and institutions,⁵⁰ as opposed to Ferrara, where the encomiastic programmes are more systematic and always in close synchrony with the régime (the importance of the dynastic theme in the poems of Boiardo and Ariosto speaks itself).

⁴⁵ Luzio and Renier, ‘Niccolò da Correggio’, vol. 1, pp. 205-264; vol. 2, pp. 65-98.

⁴⁶ Luzio and Renier, ‘La coltura’, vol. 3, pp. 193-211.

⁴⁷ Luzio and Renier, ‘La coltura’, vol. 2, pp. 1-20.

⁴⁸ *La redazione manoscritta*, pp. 18-31.

⁴⁹ Rinaldi, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, vol. 1, pp. 533-540.

⁵⁰ This is clearly visible in the wide range of artists and intellectuals who collaborated with the court of Mantua, as illustrated by Luzio and Renier, ‘La coltura’.

In the cultural policies adopted by the Sforzas in Milan, there is also a very close relationship between literature and official institutions.⁵¹ The *studium* in Pavia, tending towards specialisation in the scientific disciplines, is fervently supported by the dukes. The school of rhetoric and the *studia humanitatis* are progressively transferred to Milan, both on a public and private level. Efforts are made to draw the most illustrious professors to Milan and to promote the study of Greek, already highly advanced thanks to the efforts of Francesco Filelfo ever since the Visconti period. Moreover, Giovanni Argiropulo keeps in close contact with the court of Milan and, in 1462, Costantino Lascaris is awarded a university chair. The prestige of the city and its dynasty is what underlies Ludovico il Moro's project to engage an official historiographer to rewrite (after Simonetta's experiment) the events of the Visconti and Sforza families: the humanist Giorgio Merula, awarded the chair of rhetoric, is entrusted with this task which, after his death in 1494, passes into the hands of Tristano Calco.⁵² Yet there is a copious output, especially in the poetic sphere, at Ludovico's court, with a very wide range of genres and experiments: eulogistic poetry and poetry for solemn occasions, following courtly canons (Bernardo Bellincioni), love poetry and refined narrative poems (Gasparo Visconti), humorous verse (again Bellincioni and Antonio Cammelli); but also Latin verse, equally open to a variety of experiments (for example, the wide range of works by Piattino Piatti and Lancino Curti). The fact that Tuscan specialists in the burlesque genre - such as Bellincioni and Cammelli (the latter also collaborated with Mantua and Ferrara) - were invited to the Milanese court, is good evidence of the importance that the duke attached to artistic renown. By enticing intellectual celebrities (but also genres and themes) to Lombardy, the Sforzas were virtually challenging the great Tuscan literary tradition, which had in recent times been brilliantly renewed at the court of Lorenzo il Magnifico.⁵³ The frequent encomiastic play on words concerning the mulberry-tree ('moro' in Italian), which late fifteenth-century Milanese poets and painters include in their works, is therefore tantamount to an authentic cultural and political strategy, consisting in the replacement of Lorenzo de' Medici's 'laurel-tree' with a new tree symbolising the Sforza family, the prestigious emblem of a superiority both political and economic.

⁵¹ In addition to the volume cited in note 17, see Garin, 'La cultura milanese'.

⁵² Resta, 'La cultura umanistica', pp. 206-208.

⁵³ Rinaldi, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, vol. 1, pp. 522-524 and pp. 593-603.

The city and its images: artistic commissions

As previously mentioned, in the second half of the century, Sforza patronage is primarily channelled towards the spheres of art and city planning.⁵⁴ Even in this case, we are not in the presence of isolated and sporadic initiatives, but of a meticulously calculated and continually updated programme, persisting throughout the various vicissitudes of the dynasty. Immediately after his rise to power, the first duke, Francesco Sforza, commissioned Guiniforte Solari to build the church of Santa Maria Inconronata and, at the same time, he had the Castle of Porta Giovia, destroyed by the Ambrosian Republic, totally rebuilt. In this way, he artfully linked his own investiture to the religious and military circles (displaying an exquisitely Machiavellian gesture, even if Machiavelli himself was to judge the reconstruction of the Milanese 'forteza' or fortress as detrimental to the 'prince').⁵⁵ Moreover, in the following years Duke Francesco's commissions were channelled in particular towards the architectural sector, with particular regard for public buildings, both ecclesiastical and civic: prominent examples are the works for the cathedral and Carthusian monastery of Pavia, but above all the monumental works for the Ospedale Maggiore, assigned to Antonio Averlino, known as Filarete, in the year 1456.⁵⁶ All things considered, the *imago urbis* is what bestows prestige on the prince, manifesting to the populace the importance of his power and good government: the well-being of the citizens and the glory of the commissioner, exemplary in this case, are mutually reflected in these works. The construction of the Hospital and the idea of a new urban project directly linked to the prince's commissions are also echoed in literature, in the *Trattato di architettura* written by Filarete himself between 1461 and 1464.⁵⁷ Here the Utopian city of Sforzinda appears indeed as a hypothetical Milan ruled by the Sforzas, totally reshaped by the hand of the architect, which is in turn guided by that of the prince; the Hospital itself is cited, in the heart of the work, as an example to be imitated and almost as a preview of the ideal city.

The works commissioned by Francesco's successor Galeazzo Maria Sforza were of a different nature and undoubtedly of a more restricted scope, as compared with the ambitious architectural projects of the founder of the dynasty. These were totally dedicated to pictorial cycles for the decoration of the halls in the castles of Porta Giovia and Pavia.⁵⁸ By the 1470s,

⁵⁴ See Welch, *Art and Authority*.

⁵⁵ Machiavelli, *Opere*, vol. 1, pp. 887-888 (*Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio*, II, 24).

⁵⁶ See Arslan, 'L'architettura milanese' and Grassi, 'Note sull'architettura'.

⁵⁷ Averlino (il Filarete), *Trattato*. See Rinaldi, 'Il sogno pedagogico'.

⁵⁸ De Vecchi, 'Committenza', pp. 503-509.

the continuity of dynastic celebration was manifested in sumptuous, detailed depictions of official ceremonies and occasions, but also of normal court activities (such as hunting), in which the figure of the duke was always a constant and central one, in a sort of self-exaltation of court life coinciding perfectly with the literary production of the period. Thus the prestige of the dynasty was reflected in these more frivolous and 'ephemeral' forms, which were reserved for a restricted circle of aristocrats and intended as a sheer ostentation of riches.⁵⁹

A similar tendency may be seen also in the period of Ludovico Maria Sforza, although it was part of a more wide-ranging strategy. As we have already noted, in relation to the literary and historiographic spheres, Ludovico's policy was aimed at keeping a close control over every aspect of court culture and at steering all its various components towards a polyvalent (yet at the same time unified) celebration of the Sforza régime. It is significant, for example, that the commission for the decoration of the Sala della Balla in the castle, with the illustration of episodes from Duke Francesco's life, was made to coincide with the double wedding of 1491 (see above). This had the effect of boosting the political significance of the nuptials, by associating them with the legend of the founder of the dynasty; the latter's place was taken by his son Ludovico, trampling on the legitimate rights of Francesco's nephew. Ludovico showed the same interest in the propagandistic and political aspects of his image in his personal supervision of the execution of the *Pala Sforzesca* for the church of Sant' Ambrogio ad Nemus (now in the Brera).⁶⁰ Yet the whole *ensemble* of artistic commissions took on a particular consistency and unity in these years: it was almost as if the prince felt that he was 'l'unico e il vero autore e responsabile delle opere che commissiona' ['the sole person with the authority to commission works and the only person responsible for them'].⁶¹ It is no coincidence, therefore, that Ludovico resumed on a large scale the architectural and urbanistic initiatives in and outside the city of Milan, in line with the policies of artistic patronage pursued by Francesco Sforza: the city as a whole, with its public and private spaces, was to be transformed into the tangible image of the prince's authority, reflecting his power and magnificence. The famous and grandiose commission for the equestrian monument dedicated to the founder of the dynasty, a task entrusted to Leonardo da Vinci, was the most representative propagandistic emblem of the Sforzas' cultural prestige. The name of Leonardo, coupled with that of Bramante, was intimately linked to this phase of Sforza patronage: in fact, in these years Milan was a magnet

⁵⁹ See Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court*.

⁶⁰ Romano, 'La Pala sforzesca', pp. 9-13.

⁶¹ De Vecchi, 'Committenza', p. 503.

for numerous artists from other courts, such as Urbino and Florence, in the context of a shrewd political strategy of cultural competition with other Italian courts (for example, Ludovico's invitation of Perugino, and his project to engage Florentine artists for the Carthusian monastery of Pavia).⁶²

The consistency of the Sforzas' artistic patronage in the last two decades of the century is unrivalled at the other Po Valley courts. Patronage of the arts is, however, a conspicuous phenomenon in other minor courts such as Mantua or Ferrara, with the same political and propagandistic intentions for the sake of cultural prestige. Let us consider the Mantuan court of Ludovico Gonzaga, strongly marked by the marquis's desire to 'augmentare mirabilmente l'arte del murare' ['wondrously increase the art of construction']⁶³ and embellished with numerous buildings both ecclesiastical and civic: for instance, the works in the Palazzo Gonzaga, the construction of the Hospital of San Leonardo and the works in the churches of San Pietro Martire and Santi Filippo e Giacomo. The climax of this remarkable building campaign was the completion of the church of Sant'Andrea, following the ingenious project of Leon Battista Alberti, who also worked on the church of San Sebastiano and combined forces with Luca Fancelli, the architect of the House of Gonzaga.⁶⁴ Alberti cultivated a lengthy epistolary relationship with the Marquis Ludovico and sojourned in Mantua between 1459 and 1460, in conjunction with the Papal Court, which had come to the city for the proclamation of the crusade against the Turks planned by Pope Pius II. Moreover, the choice of Mantua as the seat of the Council was the perfect crowning-piece for the strategy of prestige, unswervingly and constantly cultivated by Ludovico Gonzaga: it represented an exceptional occasion for the city, which thus became one of the important protagonists on the international political scene and, at the same time, an elegant cultural centre of high renown.⁶⁵ However, the Gonzaga court was decidedly *avant-garde* from the artistic point of view until the first two decades of the sixteenth century, thanks to the patronage of Cardinal Francesco⁶⁶ and, above all, to Isabella Gonzaga's initiatives: the marquess's very close network of informers (and epistolary contacts) is splendid evidence of Mantua's wide cultural horizons and the refined tastes of its sovereigns.⁶⁷

There is an equally wide range of artistic commissions and architectural initiatives in Ferrara, during the second half of the fifteenth century. We

⁶² Baxandall, *Pittura ed esperienze sociali*, pp. 24-25.

⁶³ Letter from Zaccaria Saggi da Pisa to the marquis dated 18th November 1470, quoted in Welch, 'The Gonzaga go shopping', p. 270

⁶⁴ See Calzona and Volpi Ghirardini, *Il San Sebastiano*.

⁶⁵ See the contributions in *Il sogno di Pio II*.

⁶⁶ Cf. Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal*.

⁶⁷ For a detailed analysis see Brown and Lorenzoni, *Isabella d'Este*.

have already mentioned Leonello's commission to Alberti of Niccolò III's equestrian statue, but Pisanello is also to be remembered for his long period of employment with Leonello, as official painter and portrait medallist. Pisanello was a typical figure of the court *koiné*, being continually on the move from one court to the other in the Po Valley (between Mantua, Milan and, of course, Ferrara).⁶⁸ However, the glory of the House of d'Este was reflected most triumphantly in the lavish decorative projects of its villas or suburban 'delights'. Let us consider the artists working on the fresco paintings in Belfiore, Belriguardo and Schifanoia (the highest expression of this type of decoration); these were all working together at the court of Ferrara and they sometimes came from far afield, for example, Ercole de' Roberti, Francesco del Cossa, Cosmé Tura, Jacopo Bellini, Rogier van der Weyden and many others. The pictorial cycles commissioned by the House of d'Este, whether still existing (Schifanoia), or described by Sabadino degli Arienti in his *De triumphis religionis* (Belfiore and Belriguardo),⁶⁹ were certainly associated with social venues or moments of *recreatio* on the part of the prince (such as the hunt), but also with solemn public occasions (such as the entertainment of illustrious guests or ambassadors).⁷⁰ Being equally distributed between both typologies, the iconographical elements reflect an idealised image of court life and, by extension, of the prince's excellence: we see depicted country and urban entertainments, moral and amorous *exempla*, the prince's travels, the ladies' leisure pursuits. Thanks to the iconographical project attributable to Pellegrino Prisciani, the depiction of Borso d'Este's *signoria* in the Sala dei Mesi in Schifanoia promotes the image of good government: under the auspices of astrology and mythology, the prince's heroic deeds and the harmonious growth of his state are narrated in a pictorial cycle, based on the natural rhythm of agricultural labour, and culminating in the jubilant exaltation of the commissioner.⁷¹ A similar glorification lies at the base of the grandiose urban project of Ercole I, from the beginning of the 1490s, entrusted to the competent hands of Biagio Rossetti. In fact, the area referred to as the *Addizione erculea* [Herculean addition] is not a mere extension of the urban area leading towards the Ferrarese countryside and motivated by housing and military necessities,⁷² but rather a

⁶⁸ Cordellier, 'Cronologia', pp. 499-505.

⁶⁹ The work, dedicated to Ercole I around 1497, is a *speculum principis* in the vernacular, utilising the descriptions of these courtly decorations to illustrate the virtues of 'magnificence' and 'prudence'. The text can be read in Gundersheimer, *Art and Life*, pp. 29-114. See Rinaldi, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, vol. 1, pp. 656-662.

⁷⁰ Rosenberg, 'Courtly Decorations', pp. 537-543.

⁷¹ On Schifanoia, in addition to the classic work by Warburg, *La rinascita*, pp. 247-272, see Varese, 'Proposte' and Lippincott, 'The Iconography'.

⁷² Bocchi, 'La "Terranova"', pp. 169-171.

radical reformation of the medieval closed space, inspired by the humanist and Albertian desire for space, thus intimately linking the city to the surrounding area.⁷³ In this image of the 'modern city', we see reflected, once more, the figure of the good prince and his government, under the aegis of his military power, aristocratic wealth and territorial control.

Entertainment policies

If the Po Valley cities between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tend to become a faithful mirror of the prince's power and prestige, there is also another place which is, in turn, a reflection (albeit on a minor scale) of the urban image. We are referring to the 'city scene',⁷⁴ which plays such a vital role in the transformation of the theatres in the northern Italian courts, beginning with the office of Ercole I in Ferrara.

As early as the 1480s and 1490s, inaugurated by Poliziano's ingenious experiment in his *Fabula di Orfeo*, composed 'by formal order of the ... Mantuan Cardinal' and performed in Mantua in 1480,⁷⁵ the trend of vernacular theatrical performances at court with mythological themes has a precise function of self-representation. The life and rooms in the court are reflected in those episodes of pursuit and transformation, of illusion and falling in love, where nuptial themes and panegyricall allusions are interwoven with refined elegance and appear to reflect the matrimonial policies of the period (see above).⁷⁶ In this sense, works such as the anonymous *Fabula de Cefalo e Procris* (Bologna, 1475), the *Rapresentazione di Febo e di Fetton* by Gian Pietro della Viola (Mantua, 1486), the *Fabula de Cefalo* by Niccolò da Correggio (Ferrara, 1489), the *Comedia di Danae* by Baldassarre Taccone (Milan, 1496), the *Pasitea* by Gasparo Visconti (Milan, 1490s),⁷⁷ are all masked performances with mythological allegory.

It is, however, the court of Ferrara that elaborates this strategy at the turn of the sixteenth century, both in the textual repertoire which it puts on stage and in the political and propagandistic project behind it. The court of Ferrara is, above all, the first to fulfil the dream of an 'archaeological' theatre, modelled on Vitruvian scenic and scenographic effects. In his treatise *Spectacula*, Pellegrino Prisciani transposes into the vernacular the pages of the *De re aedificatoria* written by Leon Battista Alberti following Vitruvius;⁷⁸ and in the year 1486, Ercole I begins staging a series of comedies by

⁷³ See Zevi, *Saper vedere l'urbanistica* and Gamrath, 'The Herculean Addition'.

⁷⁴ Zorzi, *Il teatro e la città*, pp. 5-59.

⁷⁵ See Tissoni Benvenuti, *L'Orfeo del Poliziano*.

⁷⁶ Rinaldi, 'Il teatro volgare', pp. 45-47 and pp. 55-56.

⁷⁷ *Teatro del Quattrocento*, pp. 33-73, pp. 199-255; 291- 396.

⁷⁸ Prisciani, *Spectacula*. See Rotondò, 'Pellegrino Prisciani'.

Plautus and Terence in the vernacular, using a ‘city scene’ which is radically different from the medieval multiple scene and is an anticipation of perspective scenography. The courtroom itself, as a scenic space, is gradually replaced by a ‘courtyard’, but this reproduces on a smaller scale the same city that houses the performance, in a game of close correspondences between court spaces and urban spaces. By organising these performances for solemn festivities, Ercole reaffirms his control over the city of Ferrara and, at the same time, over his stylised or idealised image. The outstanding theatrical experiments of Ludovico Ariosto, from the scenographic point of view, adhere to this scheme.⁷⁹

Moreover, in these years and in the Po area in particular, all performances are organised and meticulously programmed by the new rulers: all the parades and ‘triumphal processions’ through the city streets, tournaments and jousts, music, banquets and theatrical performances, have a common denominator – the glorification of the prince’s power and ‘magnificencia’. Therefore it comes as no surprise that the most important performances coincide with official occasions, such as the wedding celebrations between the members of the ruling dynasties, thus linking once more cultural and political policies to marriage policies.⁸⁰ A good example of the unity of the various types of performances and also of the close supervision exercised by the Prince is the famous ‘Festa del Paradiso’ in Milan, held in the Green Hall of the Castello Sforzesco and organised by Ludovico il Moro on January 13, 1490 to celebrate (somewhat belatedly) the marriage between the young Duke Gian Galeazzo and Isabella of Aragon. In this case, the erudite and astrological allusions made in the verse texts, rigorously eulogistic, are part of a more wide-ranging mechanism, comprising dances in costume, musical intermezzos and a complex scenography painted by Leonardo⁸¹ depicting ‘Paradise’, that is Mount Olympus, from which the Gods descend to take part in the festivities and sing the praises of Isabella.⁸² In this way, under a see-through veil of mythology, the performance succeeds in putting on stage the whole Milanese court under the guidance of its prince: an authentic earthly paradise, a place with all the refinements of life and art, but also a centre of political and diplomatic influence.

In this case, too, the example of Milan allows us make a generalisation that can be applied to all the Po Valley courts between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. These festive occasions, as well as the spaces in which

⁷⁹ Zorzi, *Il teatro e la città*, pp. 26-32.

⁸⁰ Rinaldi, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, 1, pp. 544-549.

⁸¹ Povoledo, ‘Origini e aspetti’, pp. 346-351.

⁸² Tissoni Benvenuti, ‘Il teatro volgare’, pp. 340-341. Leonardo’s scenography is described in the report written by the Ferrarese ambassador Giacomo Trotti, and can be read in Solmi, *Scritti vinciani*, pp. 412-418.

they take place, are a true reflection of the power of the princes and are planned in symbiosis with dynastic propaganda: thanks to the well-judged patronage of the *Signori*, every single initiative is engendered by them in order to project the image of themselves that they wish to reveal to the outside world, in terms of cultural prestige. In these years feasts and theatrical performances, town planning and art, literature and historiography, every aspect of artistic and intellectual life follows a more and more centralised model (and motivation); in short, the ruling dynasties more and more often place themselves at the origin and finale of every performance. It is a complex game of municipal rivalries, which does not exclude (as we have already seen) a gradual process of regional standardisation. However, it marks, above all, the rapid process of transformation taking place in the Italian courts, as they become increasingly dependent on the central authority of the prince and move towards a progressively more rigid form of bureaucracy and administration.⁸³ The ever more determined and sophisticated elaboration of a type of cultural propaganda, founded on the magnification of the image of power, represents a fundamental step along the road towards the making of the modern state.

⁸³ See Stegmann, 'La Corte' and Tenenti, 'La Corte'.

THE MOTIVATION FOR THE PATRONAGE OF POPE JULIUS II

Christine Shaw

As the head of the Western Church, Giuliano della Rovere, Pope Julius II (1503-13), has had his critics, from his own day to ours, above all for his role as 'the warrior pope'. The aspect of his rule that has won most general approval has been his patronage of the arts. The complex iconography of some of the works Julius commissioned, particularly Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican Stanze, and the scale of some of the projects he initiated – the rebuilding of St Peter's, the development of the via Giulia, the massive and elaborate tomb Michelangelo planned to create for him – have provided fertile soil for interpretation of these works as expressions of Julius's own ideals, aspirations, motives and self-image. Too fertile, perhaps – some interpretations have arguably become over-elaborate and *recherchés*. The temptation to link the larger than life character of Julius II with the claims for the transcendent power and majesty of the papacy embodied in the iconography and ideology of the works of art and writings produced in Rome during his pontificate, whether or not they were commissioned by the pope, has often proved irresistible to scholars.

Some of the works associated with Julius can be read as expressions of certain conceptions of papal authority, and of the Rome of the Renaissance popes as the culmination of classical and Jewish, as well as early Christian history. But should they be read as Julius's conception of his role as pope, his programme for his own papacy? Just because others identified him with Julius Caesar, or with Moses, does that mean that he saw himself as Moses, as a second Julius Caesar? There were plenty of learned men in Rome, ready to elaborate theories of papal power which drew on different traditions and to fit Julius into them, just as they had fitted earlier popes and would fit later popes into them. They needed no encouragement from Julius to do this, just as they needed no encouragement from Alexander VI (1492-1503) to hail him as a new Alexander the Great.¹

However flattering Alexander VI may have found it to be compared with Alexander the Great, he is not generally seen as identifying with him, nor as having chosen his pontifical name to invoke the comparison. Yet

¹ Stinger, *The Renaissance*, p. 91; Miglio, *Scrittura*, pp. 147-148.

Giuliano della Rovere's choice of Julius as his pontifical name has been widely seen as significant. In accounts of his pontificate and his patronage it has become a commonplace that Julius encouraged the identification of himself and Julius Caesar, and even that he saw himself as a new Julius Caesar. I have argued elsewhere² that there is very little direct evidence that Julius identified himself with, or strove to emulate, Julius Caesar. In fact, the only direct evidence is the inscription on one medal, *JVLIVS. CAESAR. PONT. II.* – if it is assumed that Julius knew of and approved the inscription. There is among the works commissioned by Julius nothing remotely like the frescoes of Alexander the Great painted for Pope Paul III (1534-49) in the Sala Paolina of the papal fortress in Rome, the Castel Sant' Angelo, recalling the pope's baptismal name, Alessandro. Yet Paul III is not seen as being driven by a vision of himself as a new Alexander, any more than is Alexander VI. Invocations of Julius Caesar were a commonplace of princely flattery and iconography, and not just in Rome; why should they be taken as particularly significant for Julius II?³

If Julius did approve the striking of the medal bearing the inscription *JVLIVS. CAESAR. PONT. II.*, it would be a reflection of his exaltation at the successful outcome of his military expedition to Perugia and Bologna in 1506. Recovery of the lands of the Roman Church, including the re-establishment of direct control by the papacy over parts of the Papal States where families like the Bentivoglio of Bologna and the Baglioni of Perugia had seemed to be becoming *de facto* rulers of their cities, despite the presence of papal governors and administrators, was central to Julius's personal sense of his mission as pope. It may not have accorded with the conception many of his contemporaries had of what the role of the pope should be, nor with ours, but Julius's belief in the importance of his self-imposed task dated from before he became pope. As a cardinal he had been noted for his con-

² Shaw, *Julius II*, pp. 204-206.

³ I cannot agree with Ingrid Rowland (*The Culture*, pp. 172, 315) that the argument that 'Julius Caesar [was] a figure of great symbolic importance to Pope Julius, who must have chosen his own pontifical name with the parallel in mind' is 'proven unequivocally' in the Postscript to the reprint of J. S. Ackerman's essay on 'Belvedere as a Classical Villa', in his *Distance Points*. His statement there (p. 357) that 'Contemporary sources reveal Julius's intention to represent himself as a descendant and reincarnation of Julius Caesar' is supported by reference to 'the coin of 1506', an inscription on one of the triumphal arches created to celebrate Julius's return to Rome from Bologna in 1507, which included the phrase *Veni, vidi, vici*, and a couplet written by an unknown Roman poet referring to the statue then known as Cleopatra in the Belvedere sculpture court, invoking the 'second Julius'. In the absence of evidence that Julius commissioned these inscriptions, asking for these references to Caesar, they prove nothing about Julius's intentions.

cern for the defence of the property of the Church.⁴ Julius's sense of triumph at the success of his campaign did not need to be stimulated by a notion that he was a second Julius Caesar.

If there is scant evidence for personal identification with the glories of Julius Caesar and Imperial Rome as the motivation for Julius's cultural patronage, what motives *can* be observed or deduced from the evidence that there is? What is known about the ideas about the papacy and the image of himself as pope that Julius wanted to be projected by the works he commissioned? One basic motive for his patronage was undoubtedly aesthetic pleasure. Julius was a man who loved beauty, and not just in works of art. There are anecdotes of his enjoyment of the proportions of a fortress, of his watching the planting of a garden, inspecting horses, delighting in a well-built ship, being pleased by the design of a horse-litter sent to him by the Queen of France. He was evidently one of those people who enjoy having building work done for them; there are numerous reports of his inspecting the progress of the work on St Peter's, for example.⁵

He was not noted for his learning nor as a patron of literature, though there are accounts of him discussing Dante and quoting Virgil.⁶ One of the humanists in the curia, Raffaele Maffei, described Julius as being able to appreciate well-written Latin poetry, but considered him to be indifferent to learning and neglectful of learned men, not sufficiently interested to read the titles, let alone the texts, of works that were dedicated to him.⁷ Although he could express himself forcefully, especially when angered, he was no orator. Paride de' Grassi, the papal master of ceremonies, described him as being painfully nervous at the prospect of having to make speeches. If he had to give a formal address in public, he would be preoccupied for three days beforehand, trying to commit to memory what he wanted to say. Before speaking in a public consistory, he could seem 'half-dead' with fright, in a state of physical collapse, so that de' Grassi would have to hurry to support him.⁸ If Julius himself suffered (rather surprisingly, perhaps) from a species of stage-fright, there are several accounts of his attending plays,⁹

⁴ See Shaw, *Julius II*, pp. 87, 124, 130.

⁵ Fortress of Civitacastellana, horse litter and horses: Frati, *Le due spedizioni*, pp. 26, 77, 224; garden and ship: Venice, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Proprio, Roma, Reg. 3, 35, 87; Girolamo Donà, 19 Mar., 20 June 1510; construction of St Peter's: Modena, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio Ambasciatori, Roma (henceforth, ASModena, Roma), b. 16, 98-XV/73: Beltrando Costabili to Alfonso d'Este, 15 Apr. 1507, Rome.

⁶ Luzio, *Isabella d'Este*, p. 38; Frati, *Le due spedizioni*, p. 65.

⁷ D'Amico, 'Papal History', p. 198; *idem*, *Renaissance Humanism*, pp. 10-11.

⁸ Benedetti and Zander, *L'Arte*, pp. 62-63.

⁹ For example, *Marino Sanuto* (ed. Fulin *et al.*), vol. V, cols. 903-904.

and sometimes of his ordering them to be staged. The celebrations which he commanded in July 1508 for a Portuguese conquest regarded as a victory over the infidel included, besides a solemn mass in St Peter's and a religious procession, a comedy by Plautus performed in the Belvedere, and a banquet with eclogues and music.¹⁰

Music was evidently one of Julius's pleasures. The Mantuan envoy, Statio Gadio, was told that Julius did not usually enjoy the music 'on a variety of instruments' that he ordered to be played to him every day when he was recovering from a severe illness in August 1511.¹¹ But there are other references to Julius ordering music to be played for entertainment, and even taking musicians playing trumpets and drums with him when he went fishing on Lake Trasimene in 1506.¹² One of Julius's unrealised architectural projects was a loggia for the 'Suonatori papali', designed by Giuliano da Sangallo, which was to be built on the steps of the old St Peter's to protect the musicians from the weather.¹³ Sometimes when he was out of Rome he would command the papal singers to come to him. In November 1507, for example, he ordered them to travel to Ostia for the celebration of a mass there on St Martin's Day (the day he had entered Bologna the year before), and after dinner he had the singers perform for him *hilariter*.¹⁴ His best-known association with music is his foundation and endowment of the Cappella Giulia to provide singers for services in St Peter's and to train singers for both St Peter's and the papal choir of the Sistine Chapel. One of the last bulls he signed before his death in February 1513 confirmed the previous grants and arrangements he had ordered for this choir, which he intended would perform in the chapel of the new St Peter's where his tomb was to stand.¹⁵

Julius was eventually buried in the choir chapel that his uncle Sixtus IV (1471-84) had had built onto the old St Peter's. The bronze free-standing tomb monument of Sixtus IV that Julius as a cardinal had commissioned from Antonio Pollaiuolo stood there. Other members of the della Rovere

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, VII, col. 581; ASModena, Roma, b. 16, 98-XIX/17: Beltrando Costabili to Alfonso d'Este, 26 July 1508, Rome.

¹¹ Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga (henceforth, ASMantua, AGonzaga), b. 859, c. 497: Statio Gadio to Francesco Gonzaga, 31 August 1511, Rome.

¹² Frati, *Le due spedizioni*, p. 38.

¹³ Benedetti and Zander, *L'Arte*, p. 86. The inscription to be placed on the monument according to Sangallo's plan was *IVLIVS. II. PONT. MAX. LOCVM. TIBICINUM. ADVERSVS. INIVRIAS. CELI. MVNIVIT. ANNO. SAL. MDV. PONT. SVI. II.*

¹⁴ British Library MSS, Add. 8441, fols. 167^v-168^r.

¹⁵ Ducrot, 'Histoire', pp. 180-185, 534-536; Frommel, 'Die Peterskirche', pp. 123-127; *idem*, "Capella Iulia", pp. 33-35.

family were buried there too during Julius's pontificate: Cardinals Clemente Grosso della Rovere and Galeotto Franciotto della Rovere, and Julius's own sister Luchina.¹⁶ Sixtus was himself, of course, a notable patron of the arts as pope, and Giuliano della Rovere was only one of Sixtus's *nipoti* to follow his example, in and outside Rome. Cardinal Girolamo Basso della Rovere, for instance, devoted much of his income to the decoration of the shrine at Loreto, which lay within his diocese of Recanati, while Cardinal Domenico della Rovere, archbishop of Turin, built the cathedral there, as well as a palace in Rome, now known as the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri. Cardinal Raffaele Riario built one of the most celebrated Renaissance palaces in Italy, the Palazzo della Cancelleria. Among his other commissions were frescoes on classical themes in the bishop's palace at Ostia, including painted scenes from Trajan's Column in Rome; these were discovered only in 1979.

Giuliano della Rovere was perhaps the most active patron of all of Sixtus's *nipoti*, building, restoring and extending palaces, churches and fortresses, commissioning paintings and sculpture, donating church ornaments and rich vestments.¹⁷ None of the palaces that he built or reconstructed as a cardinal matched the splendour of the Cancelleria, though his main residence in Rome, the palace at Santi Apostoli was considered very luxurious, and was the probable site of his famous garden which provided the setting for his collection of ancient sculpture and inscriptions. The palace he had built for himself at Savona by Giuliano da Sangallo, with its façade of classical orders, was the most architecturally innovative and, if one is trying to divine the motives behind his patronage, it is perhaps the most suggestive. Within a year of leaving Rome in 1494 for self-imposed exile, he commissioned a large, imposing palace, high enough to rival the nearby tower-houses, but much more akin in scale and style to the grandest cardinals' palaces in Rome than to anything else to be found in Savona. Its main façade was situated on one of the principal streets of Savona; the other side of the building was close to the choir of San Francesco and the della Rovere funerary chapel commissioned by Sixtus IV. The palace was still incomplete when Julius became pope, and he could not have spent much time there himself, but it was considered fit to provide lodgings for the Queen of Spain in 1507. Before work began on this palace, he had already bought, within months of leaving Rome, one of the most prestigious palaces in Genoa, the Campofregoso palace at San Tommaso, on the western edge of

¹⁶ Frommel, "Capella Iulia", pp. 31-32; Shaw, *Julius II*, pp. 192, 200.

¹⁷ See Shaw, *Julius II*, pp. 189-194, for a summary account of his major commissions as a cardinal.

the city, towards Savona. He did not spend much time there either, but he may have had the palace altered by Giuliano da Sangallo.¹⁸

By providing himself with such imposing residences, Julius was making a clear statement that he did not intend to disappear into obscurity. His evident intention to make Liguria his base was thwarted by the reversal of alliances in 1495; this brought Lodovico Sforza, the duke of Milan and ruler of Genoa, onto the opposing side to the French, with whom the cardinal was associated throughout his exile. He would make two unsuccessful attempts to overturn the Milanese dominance of Genoa and Savona in 1495 and 1496-7 – foreshadowing his attempt as pope to drive the French successors to the Milanese out of Liguria in 1510. His Ligurian origins were important to him: his inscriptions as pope frequently included the epithet *LIGVR*. It was unusual for a pope to recall his place of origin in this way – Erasmus commented on it in his *Julius Exclusus* – and it is surely an important clue to Julius's sense of identity.¹⁹

His inscriptions also exemplify how significant his relationship with Sixtus IV was to him. Frequently as cardinal and sometimes as pope too, he was identified in them as the *nepos* of Sixtus. Some of his commissions continued work begun by Sixtus – in the decoration of the Sistine Chapel of Savona as well as the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican, for example. His choir and funerary chapel in the new St Peter's followed that of Sixtus in the old St Peter's. Aspects of his projected changes in Rome, the via Giulia, the Palazzo dei Tribunali, the new bridge that was to be part of the complex, reflect or complement Sixtus's projects. It cannot be assumed that in every instance where there was a precedent Julius was deliberately, consciously following in his uncle's footsteps, but his recurring references to Sixtus indicate that this was one of the motives for Julius's patronage as pope.

Was this familial *pietas* or dynastic glorification? As cardinal, and as pope, Julius certainly looked after the interests of his family, but he was not trying to build them into one of the great princely dynasties of Italy, as Alexander VI and Paul III wanted to do with their kin. His military campaigns were undertaken to recover lands for the Church, not to extend the domains of the della Rovere. For one thing, Sixtus had already seen to the establishment of Giuliano's brother, Giovanni, as *signore* of Senigallia and husband of a sister of Guidobaldo da Montefeltre. All Julius had to do was

¹⁸ Fiore, 'La fabbrica', pp. 261-276.

¹⁹ Kelley Sowards and Pascal, p. 56. Most of the works of art that he commissioned or donated in Liguria went to Savona, rather than Genoa. All he gave to the cathedral in Genoa, for example, was a papal golden rose and some vestments, while he spent over 17,000 scudi on works at the cathedral of Savona. Armani, 'Appunti', pp. 318-319.

to ensure that the ageing, childless, Guidobaldo made Giovanni's son Francesco Maria his heir to the duchy of Urbino, rather than any other of his sisters' children. He did not try to use his own daughter Felice as an instrument of dynastic aggrandisement by marrying her into a princely family, though he did provide her with an eminently respectable husband in the person of Giangiordano Orsini, head of the most powerful branch of that Roman baronial clan. Dynastic glorification was arguably less important than familial *pietas* as a motive for his evocation of Sixtus's memory.

If his uncle was the predecessor of whom Julius seemed most conscious, Julius was also intensely aware of being a successor to St Peter. For thirty years as a cardinal he had held the title of San Pietro ad Vincula, by which he was generally known, and as pope he retained his affection for the titular basilica of San Pietro in Vincoli, which he had restored, and for the palace which he had built by its side. In 1477 he had commissioned gilded bronze doors from Antonio Pollaiuolo, with reliefs showing St Peter in prison and his release by an angel, for the niche on the altar where the chains believed to have bound St Peter were kept. These scenes appear again, with the chains of St Peter prominently depicted, in the frescoes in the Stanza d'Eliodoro. Julius wanted his own tomb to be near that of St Peter; and he refused to entertain Bramante's suggestion that St Peter's tomb could be moved to facilitate the reorientation of St Peter's, whereby the main entrance would be aligned with the obelisk reputed to contain the ashes of Julius Caesar.²⁰ (It is worthy of note that Nicholas V (1447-55) and Paul II (1464-71) had shown more interest in that obelisk than Julius did: both had considered making it the centre of the new St Peter's square.²¹) Sometimes he referred to St Peter as the personification of the papacy. 'Better that St Peter should usurp than that St Mark should', was how he summarized one dispute with Venice over ecclesiastical affairs.²² In June 1512, when he was feeling better disposed towards the Venetians after the reversal of alliances following the War of the League of Cambrai, he used one of his characteristically robust metaphors in describing the relations between the papacy and Venice. St Peter and St Mark had been friends, he said, but then St Mark had grabbed St Peter's testicles and St Peter had been shaken; but now they were reconciled.²³

²⁰ Frommel, 'Die Peterskirche', p. 89.

²¹ Frommel, 'Papal policy', p. 45.

²² Giustinian, *Dispacci*, III, p. 288: 6 Nov. 1504.

²³ *che'l Papa rasonando disse che San Piero e San Marco erano sta' amichi, ma che San Marcho de' de sgrinfe a li coioni di San Piero e San Piero non stè saldo, ma hora è fati una cossa medema* (Marino Sanuto, *Diarii*, ed. Fulin et al, vol. XIV, col. 401).

Peculiar as his way of expressing them could sometimes be, Julius's invocations of St Peter should probably be read as veneration for the saint, not identification with him. Julius was known to be keen to acquire glory, and he wanted to be respected as pope, but he did not harbour grandiose ideas about himself. He was well aware of his own failings as an individual, and he was the first to make jokes about his short temper, or his liking for wine. He could take a joke against himself, too. Furious as he was when in 1512 the Bolognese destroyed the bronze statue of him by Michelangelo, and convinced that the bronze had been used to make an artillery piece nicknamed La Giulia by the Duke of Ferrara, when he was told that the Duke, who was trying to come to terms with him, wanted 'to have a statue of Pope Julius made and place it in the piazza', he roared with laughter.²⁴ Julius's speech in that year to the Lateran Council was not that of a man who took seriously the flattering panegyrics that were addressed to him: 'he excused himself if he had not governed his flock as he should, but he had meant well'.²⁵ He could clearly distinguish his own interests from those of the papacy. If the Venetians had offended him personally by taking Senigallia from his nephew, he would have put up with it, as he told their ambassador in 1505, but since they had encroached on the papacy's territory in the Romagna, he could not but react.²⁶ On his deathbed, he told the assembled cardinals that as an individual (*come particolare persona*) he forgave everyone who had offended him, specifically the 'schismatics' associated with the Council of Pisa-Milan²⁷, but he could not forgive the schismatics as Pope (*come Papa*), because the injury had been done to the Apostolic See, and he thought it should be left to the judgement of his successor, whether they should be absolved.²⁸

Julius was not only aware of himself as a fallible human being trying to do his duty as pope, he was well aware of the limitations of the powers of the pope in practice. There are no indications in his words *or* his actions that he allowed himself to be carried away by the vision, beloved of the humanists at the curia, of the pope exercising supreme temporal and spiritual authority over lands that exceeded the bounds of the Roman Empire.²⁹ Much of his time as a cardinal had been spent away from Rome, and

²⁴ ASMantua, AGonzaga, b. 860, c. 27: Folenghino to Francesco Gonzaga, 24 June 1512, Rome.

²⁵ Marino Sanuto, *Diarii* (ed. Fulin *et al.*), vol. XIV, cols. 229-230.

²⁶ Giustinian, *Dispacci*, III, p. 421: 16 Feb. 1505.

²⁷ This was an unsuccessful attempt by some dissident cardinals, instigated by Louis XII, to assemble a general council of the Church in 1511-12.

²⁸ ASMantua, AGonzaga, b. 86: Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga to Francesco Gonzaga, 20 Feb. 1513, Rome.

²⁹ See, for example, Stinger, *The Renaissance*, pp. 243-246.

experience had taught him how the papacy was regarded when it was not seen through the lens of papal ideology. His efforts to extend the authority of the papacy took the form of practical steps to save money, to pay for troops, to recover territory. He claimed the right of the papacy to be respected as a temporal power, and was as interested in the progress of the building of fortifications such as the fortress of Civitavecchia, as he was in that of the progress of work on St Peter's.

Little is known of his personal responsibility for, or reaction to, the iconography of the works he commissioned. It is very unlikely that he wanted a visual expression of his metaphorical image of St Peter tussling with St Mark. But he did commission an unambiguous image of papal superiority over temporal princes, in the person of the king of France. For a hall near the papal chapel in the Vatican he had a stained-glass window made, with himself 'seated in his robes in a public consistory, with the cardinals around him, and the king of France dressed in cloth of gold decorated with lilies kneeling before him'. This had attracted criticism, 'because he never did this, and if Alexander had King Charles depicted, that really happened'.³⁰ Julius may have ordered the window to be made when he thought that there would be such a scene in reality, for there had been plans for him to meet Louis the previous winter; no meeting, however, took place, because relations between them were so bad that the pope feared he might be held prisoner if he met the king. There was a report of Julius using iconography to convey a political message, in 1511. At the time when he was trying to persuade the Emperor Maximilian to enter the Holy League against France, Julius had been given an antique cornelian set in silver, showing a chariot drawn by two cocks, with an eagle perched on it and beating the cocks with a stick. He sent this to the Emperor, with the message that this was a prophecy and that he, as the defender of the Church, should enter the league and beat the French who were enemies of the Church.³¹ A famous anecdote concerning a discussion between Julius and Michelangelo about the ill-fated bronze statue of the pope to be erected in Bologna, would, if it is accurate, show how Julius thought of his personal image as pope. When the artist, according to his friend and biographer Condivi, consulted the pope about whether he wanted a book to be held in the statue's left hand, Julius replied that a sword would be better for 'I am no scholar'. He then joked about the

³⁰ ASModena, Roma: b. 16, 98-XV/74: Beltrando Costabili to Alfonso d'Este, 16 Apr. 1507, Rome; *ibidem*, b. 19, 121-V/15: Lodovico Fabriano to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, 22 Apr. 1507, Rome. The reference to a depiction of Charles VIII with Alexander VI presumably refers to one of the lost frescoes portraying scenes from Alexander's life by Pinturicchio in the Castel Sant' Angelo, about which little is known.

³¹ Marino Sanuto, *Diarii* (ed. Fulin *et al.*), vol. XIII, cols. 285-286.

gesture of the right hand of the figure: was he supposed to be giving a blessing or a curse? An admonition, Michelangelo replied, to the Bolognese to behave themselves.³²

Another clear image of papal authority, this time within Rome, would have been embodied in the Palazzo dei Tribunali, which Bramante began to build for Julius on the new street that was to bear Julius's name, the via Giulia. Although the via Giulia did eventually become one of the most prestigious streets in Rome, little progress was made with the scheme during the pope's lifetime: indeed, building work on the Palazzo dei Tribunali had ceased before his death. One of the major reasons for the cessation of the building work, it has been argued, was Julius's extension and confirmation of the jurisdiction of the civic court, the Curia Capitolina, over the citizens of Rome in March and April 1512. The transfer of the Roman civic tribunals from the Capitol to join the papal courts in the new Palazzo, thus affirming papal superiority over the city of Rome, is said to have been one of the principal motives for planning the new building; the square in front of the Palazzo would become the new Campidoglio. The building opposite the site, now known as the Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini, housed the papal chancery, and was restored by Julius's *nipoti*, Cardinals Galeotto and Sisto della Rovere. Consequently, according to another interpretation, the piazza would also be a symbol of the unification between papal power and the power of the della Rovere, and, together with the Palazzo dei Tribunali, it would be a celebration of the 'Good Government of the della Rovere'. Linking the Ponte Sisto to the Ospedale di Santo Spirito, two of Sixtus's major projects in Rome, the via Giulia would also be a tribute to the earlier della Rovere pope.³³

How far this scheme was intended seriously to be a celebration of the government of the della Rovere, or a definitive assertion of the superiority of papal Rome over the Rome of the commune, or both, is debatable. The battle to assert papal control over the communal authorities in Rome had already been won by earlier popes;³⁴ the plan to transfer the Curia Capitolina to the new building could have been for the purposes of administrative convenience, although it would certainly have underscored the subordination of this Curia to the papal tribunals. Indeed the decision to build the Palazzo dei Tribunali could have itself been prompted by considerations of administrative convenience, particularly as the buildings in the Vatican in which some of the papal tribunals were housed were to be demolished when

³² Condivi, *Vita*, p. 63.

³³ See the relevant sections in Salerno, Spezzaferro and Tafuri, *Via Giulia*, pp. 57-63, 65-76.

³⁴ As Spezzaferro himself points out (*ibidem*, p. 63).

building work began on the new St Peter's.³⁵ Julius had had a concern for law and order in Rome from the beginning of his pontificate. His measures for better policing seem to have had some effect,³⁶ but Rome was still afar from peaceful city. The Palazzo dei Tribunali would have been a symbol of the power and authority of the law, designed in the tradition of fifteenth-century cardinals' palace-fortresses in Rome, with four defensive corner towers and a fifth tower, a central campanile, symbolizing the public nature of the building.³⁷ Safety, public commodity and utility were the features of the scheme that struck at least one contemporary, Francesco Albertini, writing in 1510.³⁸

What influence, if any, Julius had on Bramante's design for the Palazzo dei Tribunali is not known, nor is it known what significance he attached to the project for the via Giulia, or whether the whole scheme was his idea or was merely suggested to him, perhaps by Bramante. There are only a few anecdotal accounts of his discussions about the design or iconography of works which he commissioned from the artists who were to execute them. He is said to have restrained Bramante's wilder fantasies for the iconography of the Belvedere, ridiculing the architect's suggestion for mock hieroglyphics representing Julius's name and title,³⁹ just as he vetoed Bramante's suggestion to re-orientate St Peter's. Concerning Michelangelo, there is Condivi's account of the exchange between the artist and Julius about the bronze statue of the pope to be erected in Bologna, and Michelangelo's own recollection of discussing the iconography of the work which he was to do on the Sistine Chapel ceiling:

The first design consisted of figures of the Apostles within the lunettes, while certain portions were to be adorned after the usual manner. As soon as I had begun this work, I realised that it would come off a poor thing, and I told the Pope how, in my opinion, the placing of the Apostles there by themselves would result in a poor effect. He asked me why. I answered, 'Because they too were poor'. Then he granted me a new commission to do what I wished, disposed to satisfy me, and told me to paint down to the stories underneath.⁴⁰

³⁵ Von Moos, 'The palace', p. 50.

³⁶ For the impression that these measures made on a French visitor to Rome, see Britnell and Shaw, 'A French life', pp. 113-114.

³⁷ Von Moos, 'The palace', pp. 50-51; Frommel, 'Il Cardinale', p. 79.

³⁸ Von Moos, 'The palace', pp. 47, 50.

³⁹ Vasari, *Le Vite* (ed. Bettarini and Barocchi), vol. IV, pp. 79-80.

⁴⁰ Clements, *Michelangelo*, p. 50.

If Michelangelo's story is correct, then the pope showed little concern for the iconography of so prominent a work, in such an important place for papal ceremonies and rituals. Julius is known to have shown interest in the progress of the painting, however, climbing up the scaffolding to see it, and indeed, ordering Michelangelo to suspend work on the sculptures for Julius's own tomb.

No evidence survives of any discussions Julius may have had with Raphael about the iconography of the frescoes in the Vatican apartments to which the pope moved in 1507. Julius had decided that he could not go on living in the apartments which had been decorated for Alexander VI, 'because, so he told me [Paride de' Grassi], he did not want to see every hour that portrait of Alexander, his predecessor and enemy'. De' Grassi suggested to Julius that 'if he wished, that image could be erased from the wall, together with all the others with the depictions of his coat of arms' but the pope 'did not want that, saying that would not be right [*non decet*], but he did not want to live there' and be reminded of Alexander's wickedness.⁴¹ Several portraits of Julius appear prominently in the frescoes that Raphael painted for him; presumably this was with Julius's approval, but whether on his instructions is not known. Whoever did devise the scheme of decoration of the apartments – and Julius is not generally thought to be a prime candidate for this – Raphael apparently had considerable discretion at least in the numbers and placement of the figures which he included.⁴² The Stanza della Segnatura was probably Julius's private library, and

the basic scheme of the walls, showing the famous figures of theology, philosophy and poetry above cases of books devoted to these subjects, followed a familiar and conventional pattern of library decoration. There was an obvious precedent in the Vatican itself, in the Biblioteca Latina. Raphael's great innovation was to arrange the figures according to the conventions of history painting, and this ingenious formal solution is one thing that is unlikely to have been suggested by a humanist.⁴³

Or, one might venture to say, by the pope.

The Vatican apartments, if sumptuously decorated, are not on a grand scale; they are places where the pope could comfortably live and work, with a loggia where he could take the air. He had a tower in the Vatican demolished because it obstructed the view from a covered corridor that he had had made 'at the top of the palace above the tiles, so that he could walk in

⁴¹ British Library MSS, Add. 8441, fols. 170^{r-v}.

⁴² Hope, 'Artists', pp. 315-316.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 315.

the cool in the morning'.⁴⁴ Utility and comfort, in the form of a covered walk connecting the Vatican and Belvedere, may well have been Julius's idea of the purpose of the courtyard Bramante designed for him. To judge by the inscriptions on the outer wall of the courtyard itself and on the medal coined to celebrate it, for Julius it was a *via*, not a villa.⁴⁵ He commissioned another, modest, loggia at the Castel Sant' Angelo, and had a bathroom fitted out there where he could take medicinal baths.⁴⁶ He had another bathroom fitted out for him in the Vatican. As a cardinal, he had had one of the first private bathrooms known in the Roman area (since ancient times) constructed in the fortress of Ostia.⁴⁷ As pope, he liked to stay at Ostia, although there was no room for a large train there: he stayed in the fortress, while those of his household who accompanied him stayed in the bishop's palace. He also liked to stay at the palace he had built for himself as a cardinal at San Pietro in Vincoli, although the apartments there do not sound very comfortable. A Mantuan envoy described them as 'the hottest place in the world with two small chambers and a little hall'; if Julius wanted to dine there he had to wait until the sun went down and even then it stayed 'as hot as an oven'.⁴⁸

The private apartments of Renaissance princes can seem quite small, places in which they could find respite from constantly being on public display. Certainly, the apartments Julius chose to live in were not places designed for the ceremony and ritual that were so important a part of the life of a Renaissance prince, particularly of a Renaissance pope, with his dual role as head of the Church and head of a state. How Julius regarded the ceremonial aspect of his position and what importance he attached to it, can reveal more about his understanding of his role and duties as pope, and the image of himself and the papacy he wished to project.

Julius could take considerable interest in ceremony and ritual. He discussed the details of the arrangements for his coronation and the procession to the Lateran, known as the *possesso*, with the papal master of ceremonies, Johannes Burckhardt, deciding, for example, that he would wear a *mitram simplicem*, that there should be no violence used against the Jews who were to ask for the confirmation of their laws, and that the horses

⁴⁴ ASModena, Roma, b. 19, 121-V/49: Lodovico Fabriano to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, 24 July 1507, Rome.

⁴⁵ Shaw, *Julius II*, pp. 195, 206-207.

⁴⁶ D'Onofrio, *Castel S. Angelo*, pp. 271-272; Giustinian, *Dispacci*, III, pp. 30-31: 22 Mar. 1504.

⁴⁷ Camerota, 'Note', pp. 120-123.

⁴⁸ ASMantua, AGonzaga, b. 860, c. 31: Folenghino to Francesco Gonzaga, 26 July 1512, Rome.

and mules of the cardinals should have trappings of white taffeta.⁴⁹ It was rumoured that the coronation celebrations would cost 60,000 ducats.⁵⁰ A new papal tiara adorned with precious stones and weighing about seven pounds was made by Ambrogio Foppa, il Caradosso, on Julius's orders, for him to wear on the day of the ceremony, 5 December 1503.⁵¹ He ordered that the 'tabernacles, triumphal arches and temples' erected in the streets to honour the pope should be left standing, for the procession he would make to the basilica of S. Paolo the following Sunday.⁵²

Another occasion on which Julius wanted a particularly impressive show was his formal entry to Rome in March 1507 after his campaign to Bologna. He had hurried away from Bologna, unwilling to meet King Louis, afraid that he might be taken prisoner and replaced on the papal throne by the ambitious Cardinal d'Amboise.⁵³ Discussing the arrangements for the entry with the pope beforehand, de' Grassi asked that he should be given permission to moderate any preparations being made to receive the pope, to ensure that the celebrations befitted Passion-tide. Julius's face stiffened, as he asked what more fitting cause of celebration could there be than the return of the pope after a long absence? His Holiness should consider, de' Grassi responded, whether during the season of Christ's Passion the pope, his vicar, should 'be in triumph and pomp and glory.' Angered, Julius said: on Palm Sunday it would be fitting for the Roman clergy and people to rejoice, and to acclaim the pope with the salutation 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord'. (This was the phrase *BENEDII. QV. VENIT. I. NO. D.* that appears on the reverse of the medal struck for this occasion, bearing the inscription *JVLIVS. CAESAR. PONT. II.* on the obverse).⁵⁴ De' Grassi insisted that liturgically that day was still considered part of the Passion of Christ, when the Church mourned his death, and so it would not be fitting; at this Julius ordered him to be silent, and neither to order the Romans to make preparations nor send to restrain them if they chose to make any. When de'Grassi reported this conversation to Cardinal da Sangiorgio, who had remained in Rome as legate during the pope's absence, the cardinal decided to order 'that the pope should be received with

⁴⁹ Burckhardt, *Liber Notarum*, p. 412.

⁵⁰ ASMantua, AGonzaga, b. 855, c. 417: Gian Lucido Cattaneo to Isabella d'Este, 10 Nov. 1503, Rome.

⁵¹ Burckhardt, *Liber Notarum*, p. 417.

⁵² Nicolò Machiavelli, *Legazioni* (ed. Bertelli), vol. II, pp. 712-713: Machiavelli to Dieci di Balìa, 6 Dec. 1503, Rome.

⁵³ See Shaw, *Julius II*, pp. 211-215, for the political background to this entry.

⁵⁴ Weiss, 'The Medals', p. 180.

pomp, but ecclesiastical or spiritual pomp, rather than worldly and triumphal.⁵⁵

Julius got his wish for a splendid reception: his processional entry through Rome was judged 'more stately [*solemne*] than his coronation.'⁵⁶ The streets were covered over with cloth, the walls of the houses were hung with tapestries, there were religious processions with singing, and there were triumphal arches, among them one set up in the *via dei Banchi*, with the much-cited inscription recalling Caesar's boast *veni, vidi, vici*.⁵⁷ 'And truly I conclude', wrote Giovanni Gonzaga to Marchese Francesco Gonzaga, 'that a pope is the greatest lord in Christendom, because he is very rich without expense. And if another king or Italian potentate had wished to make such an entry, it would have cost 100,000 ducats, and even then it would not have been so fine, and I believe that Our Lord [the pope] in this entry of his has not spent 25 ducats'.⁵⁸ As Julius neither paid for nor ordered the triumphal arches and inscriptions and other decorations, the iconography and the messages in the inscriptions cannot be read as direct expressions of his self-image. The only salutation he is known to have considered suited to the occasion was 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord'. The arches were erected, de' Grassi noted, not at public expense or by individual Romans (except for Damiano Massimo), but by the curiali, those associated with the papal court and administration, who were pleased to see the pope return because they had feared he would be away for years.⁵⁹

Julius's triumphal entry to Bologna in November 1506 had been arranged by de' Grassi. It was de' Grassi who suggested that he should enter the city *pontificaliter*, so that the authority of all the civic magistracies would cease, just as that of the Roman magistrates did when the pope processed to the Lateran, *pontificaliter et triumphaliter*. This idea was approved by the pope, who ordered de' Grassi to make all the necessary arrangements, 'and so I prepared everything'. By his own account, de' Grassi ordered the erection of the triumphal arches and altars (he wanted thirty-one arches, but because of the rain and the muddy streets and the fear of the French troops nearby, had to settle for thirteen, erected 'at public expense'

⁵⁵ Frati, *Le due spedizioni*, p. 169.

⁵⁶ Cambridge University Library, Add. 4761, fol. 77: Beltrando Costabili to Alfonso d'Este, 28 Mar. 1507, Rome.

⁵⁷ Marino Sanuto, *Diarii* (ed. Fulin *et al.*), vol. VII, col. 64.

⁵⁸ ASMantua, AGonzaga, b. 857, cc. 383-384: Giovanni Gonzaga to Francesco Gonzaga, 28 Mar. 1507, Rome.

⁵⁹ Frati, *Le due spedizioni*, pp. 173-174.

(presumably, that is, of the Bolognese) and all the details of the procession and the ceremonies.⁶⁰

From the evidence concerning the arrangements for these major displays of pontifical pomp, it is clear that Julius could enjoy them, and that, to judge by his reponse to de' Grassi's objections to a triumphal entry to Rome in March 1507, there were occasions when they could provide a valued boost to his self-esteem. But apparently it was the overall impression of magnificence and authority that concerned him, not the specific messages to be read from the inscriptions or into the iconography of the decorations. On occasion, he does seem to have attached importance to making ceremonial entries to towns in the Papal States that he was visiting for the first time as pope, even when de' Grassi thought the places were too small to be able to put on a proper show, such as Orte in March 1507 and Cervia in March 1511.⁶¹ His insistence on having a solemn entry to Orte could be interpreted as a desire to salve his wounded pride, since he had been hastening away from Bologna, making only a simple entry to Urbino (though the duke ordered the streets of the city to be decorated in his honour), and expressly saying he did not want any procession at other places, such as Nocera.⁶² Cervia could have been of special significance for him as one of the places that he had recovered for the Church from the Venetians; he had been annoyed when his ceremonial entry to Ravenna, a city that had been held by the Venetians since 1441, became confused (de' Grassi had been delayed and could not arrive in time to organise it properly).⁶³ Sometimes he enjoyed the displays put on to greet him, such as the masque criticising the Bentivoglio and praising the pope which was put on in Imola in October 1506;⁶⁴ at others, he grew bored, as with the Latin songs greeting him on his way to the cathedral in Perugia.⁶⁵

He could also take an interest in the details of arrangements for ceremonies, such as questions of precedence, that were accorded importance by contemporaries as representations of status. He was, for example, concerned that Antonio Giubba, a relative of his who had been appointed captain of the palace guard, should not be accorded a more honourable place than was customary. Antonio was not an especially close relative, Julius said, and he did not want to give ground for adverse comment on this score.⁶⁶ The question of when it was appropriate for the cardinals or their households or his

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 81-95.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 165, 254.

⁶² *Ibidem*, pp. 159-165.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 240.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 67-68.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

⁶⁶ Burckhardt, *Liber notarum*, p. 426.

own household formally to accompany dignitaries was one that occupied him on several occasions. When the ambassador of the king of Hungary came to Rome in March 1508, for example, he was escorted on his entry by nearly all the cardinals' households, but not by that of the pope – Julius considered that his should not go because this was not an embassy to pay obedience to the pope, nor concerned with any major matter, but merely about a dowry.⁶⁷ In April 1506, when there was a dispute about whether Cardinal Antonio Ferreri should be accompanied by other cardinals as he left Rome to go to Perugia as legate – the cardinal said that he should, and the papal master of ceremonies, Burckhardt, said that he should not – Ferreri appealed to Julius, who, after hearing arguments that this had been done before, agreed with his request.⁶⁸

He was also concerned that liturgical ceremonies should be conducted with due dignity. Sometimes it is difficult to tell whether he prized the proper celebration of ceremony for reasons of dignity or aesthetics. Asked by the commune of Orvieto to celebrate a pontifical mass on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin in September 1506, he agreed, provided that the papal singers, who had gone on to Perugia, were there. He ordered that the singers should be recalled, but the commune refused to pay for the courier, and in the end the mass did not take place. On another occasion he became annoyed when a rumpus in the cathedral of Terni prevented him from hearing the singing during a service.⁶⁹ When he was crippled by gout or weak from illness and unable to stand properly, he would sometimes not go to public celebrations of mass. There were times when he had no such excuse for missing a ceremony, as when in December 1510 he wandered through the palace at Bologna looking at horses instead of going to mass.⁷⁰

In December 1508 he shocked the Spanish ambassador by spending the feast of Advent surveying galleys at Civitavecchia rather than worshipping in chapel. According to the ambassador, he did not say the masses that it was customary for the popes to celebrate.⁷¹ Often, however, when he did not attend public ceremonies, he is recorded as hearing or celebrating mass privately instead. There were anniversaries of private significance that he observed as well, turning up uninvited at the mass commemorating Sixtus IV held by the Franciscans of Bologna in December 1506,⁷² or holding special services at Ostia, rather than in Rome, to mark St Martin's day (the

⁶⁷ British Library MSS, Add. 8441, fol. 189^{r-v}.

⁶⁸ Burckhardt, *Liber notarum*, p. 511.

⁶⁹ Frati, *Le due spedizioni*, pp. 35, 291.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 224-225.

⁷¹ Terrateig, *Politica*, II, pp. 62-63.

⁷² Frati, *Le due spedizioni*, pp. 128-129.

anniversary of the day he entered Bologna, de' Grassi noted).⁷³ For Julius, the laying of the foundation stone of a new fortress could be as worthy of proper ritual as was the laying of the foundation stone of St Peter's. The ceremony used for the fortress of Bologna was adapted from that for the foundation of a church, with the word *arx* substituted for *ecclesia*,⁷⁴ and when work was to begin on the new fortress at Civitavecchia, he sent for de' Grassi and the papal choir and asked him to check his records for the appropriate ceremony.⁷⁵

There were times when he was unwilling to be guided by his master of ceremonies as to correct procedure, and Burckhardt and de' Grassi would note that he wore the wrong robes or faced the wrong way. On one occasion, when Julius ordered a ceremony in which he would bestow the pallium for the archbishopric of Aix, he had the chapel prepared as for a private mass. De' Grassi disapproved, and 'with my book in my hand' told the pope of what was appropriate to a private rather than a public mass, 'but the pope smiled, and said he wanted it done his way, simply'. (De' Grassi salved his own wounded sensibilities by recording in his diary a long list of what had been done amiss).⁷⁶ It does seem that, as the years went on, Julius increasingly found the elaborate round of religious ceremonies that were part of his duties as pope irksome at times.

Julius was not a man obsessed by outward shows, nor one to take the shadow for the substance. Evidently he was aware that art and ceremony could convey powerful messages, and at times he can be seen to have taken personal comfort, perhaps reassurance, in representations of power in ceremony or ritual. As for what messages he wished to convey to others, evidence is not abundant, and much of it is anecdotal; taken altogether, it conveys the impression of a man who was more interested in the general effect of the works of art and architecture he commissioned than in details of iconography. The one work of art in whose iconography he is known to have taken personal interest – the stained glass window depicting Louis XII kneeling at his feet – needed only an ability to recognise the accoutrements of a pope and the lilies of France on the king's robe in order to be correctly interpreted. The only acclamation he is specifically known to have wanted was *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*. The only evidence that he might have had a personal interest in invoking the glories of ancient Rome

⁷³ British Library MSS, Add. 8441, fol. 167^v; Cessi, *Dispacchi*, p. 160; Domenico Trevisan *et al.*, 7 Nov. 1509, Rome.

⁷⁴ Frati, *Le due spedizioni*, pp. 148-149.

⁷⁵ British Library MSS, Add. 8441, fol. 248^v; ASModena, Roma, b. 17, 98-XX/57; Beltrando Costabili to Alfonso d'Este, 14 Dec. 1508, Rome.

⁷⁶ Frati, *Le due spedizioni*, pp. 120-121.

to enhance his image as the pope was the medal of 1507. This should be set against the other piece of evidence of his use of iconography to invoke the tradition of Empire, using an antique gem not to identify himself or the papacy with Imperial Rome, but to call on the Holy Roman Emperor to take up the role as defender of the Church.

Whatever the fascination for cultural historians of the sophisticated and grandiose theories of papal power elaborated in the works of art and literature produced in the Rome of Julius II, these works cannot be taken as a guide to the ideas and policies of the pope himself. It must not be forgotten that not all messages conveyed in works commissioned by a patron, let alone those merely addressed to him, can be read as a communication by the patron of his thinking and claims and aspirations. To say this is not to deny that messages may be read into them, but it should not be assumed that patrons would necessarily have cared about or understood or been motivated by theories and statements about their power and authority that may be coded into the works of art they paid for. Julius II was one prince for whom aesthetic appreciation, pleasure in building, and a desire to create pleasing places in which to live, were arguably more important motives for patronage than the desire to project certain political ideas and images of his power.

PRINCES AND PATRIOTISM:
THE SELF-REPRESENTATION OF FLORENTINE PATRICIANS
IN THE LATE RENAISSANCE

Henk van Veen

After the mid sixteenth century, the various urban elites in Italy underwent a process of 'aristocratisation'.¹ In recent decades, there has been much debate among historians as to how this process actually happened in Florence. Generally speaking, the following picture has emerged.² After the aristocratisation of the Florentine civil elite had once been set in motion, it was further accelerated by the new grand-ducal Medici dynasty founded by Cosimo I. The Medici were keen to merge the patriciate with the feudal nobility with which they had surrounded themselves and which originated from Tuscany and further afield. Thus they hoped to create a homogeneous aristocracy centred on court and dynasty, that would further the consolidation of the grand duchy as a territorial state.

In studies of the aristocratisation process in Florence much attention has rightly been devoted to the figure and ideology of Scipione Ammirato, a panegyrist, historian, and political thinker who – at the invitation of Grand Duke Cosimo I – moved to Florence in 1570 from the South Italian province of Apulia and subsequently assumed a prominent position in the town's cultural life.³ Accustomed as he was to the courtly atmosphere of southern Italy, Ammirato emerged as a prime champion of grand-ducal dominion as a God-given institution. To add lustre to the grand duke's loftiness or, as Samuel Berners once put it, 'to lift him from the piazza', a court nobility was, in Ammirato's opinion, indispensable:

good and just sovereigns must, since they are reflections and shadows of God, strive to surround themselves with great and excellent men ... in

¹ See Donati, *L'idea di nobiltà*.

² Berner, 'Florentine Political Thought'; *idem*, 'Florentine Society'; Cochrane, *Florence*; Diaz, 'L'idea di una nuova elite'; Weissmann, *Ritual Brotherhood*; Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy*; Donati, *L'idea di nobiltà*, pp. 214-227; Aguzzi Barbagli, 'La difesa'; Williams, 'The Sala Grande'.

³ For him see especially Cochrane, *Florence*, and the literature cited there.

much the same way that throngs and orders of angels with all their privileges surround God.⁴

In his writings, Ammirato articulated as no other the endeavours being made to convert Florentine patricians into courtiers suited to the task of serving the Grand Duke as his entourage.

This 'courtification' of the patriciate encouraged by the Medici was in no way counteracted by the tough urban and mercantile tradition that had always characterised the city-state of Florence. The various analyses of the aristocratisation process in Florence reveal that beneath its noble-aristocratic veneer, the Florentine patriciate was ultimately capable of preserving much of its original urban identity and many of its original positions of power in the city.⁵

Campanilism as an historic problem

No matter how well existing historical analyses have illuminated the different forces and counter-forces affecting the aristocratisation process in Florence, there is still one important question that remains unanswered. If there was anything that characterised the Florentine elite, particularly during the last decades of the sixteenth century, then it was a virulent love of and pride in its own city – in a word, the elite's 'campanilismo'.⁶ Though such a sentiment is also discernible in other cities of the day, such as Genoa and Venice, nowhere did it seem to be as strong as it was in Florence. How is it possible that aristocratisation, which precisely implied rising above urban matters and focusing on the sovereign and the court, was accompanied by such passionate expressions of love for one's city? The fact that during the aristocratisation process the civil elite managed to retain its urban identity provides insufficient explanation. The type of campanilism referred to here really involved a new phenomenon, that was unprecedented in this form.

It has been suggested that the sudden orientation towards the home city was, paradoxically, one result of the aristocratisation process.⁷ As a class,

⁴ ... *buoni e giusti principi essendo in terra un'immagine e ombra di Dio, hanno a studiarsi d'haver appresso di loro huomini grandi e di diversi gradi e qualità ... si come appresso di Dio diverse d'honori e di prerogative sono le schiere e le gerarchie degli angeli*' (Ammirato quoted by Diaz, 'L'idea di una nuova elite', p. 582).

⁵ See Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy*.

⁶ Berner, 'Florentine Political Thought'; *idem*, 'Florentine Society', pp. 230, 232.

⁷ Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy*, pp. 32-33. Litchfield pays little attention to campanilism and does not regard it as an historical problem. Cf. also Diaz, 'L'idea di una nuova elite', pp. 583-84, who refers to Ammirato's *Delle famiglie nobili fiorentine*, which was published in 1615 but written in the 1590s.

the Florentine patricians had an urban-mercantile background and origin and could not claim to be of noble, cavalier extraction. The only way in which they could therefore hope to improve their status was by pointing to the positions of high office held by their forefathers during the time of the Republic of Florence. Having such elevated positions could certainly not be regarded as in any way inferior to the deeds that had given the armed nobility the esteem it enjoyed. This, then, was the basis of the argument to promote the Florentine patricians to *nobili*. Anyone who could boast that his forefathers had, for several consecutive generations in the past, occupied positions of high office within the Florentine Republic therefore considered himself just as worthy as 'true' blue-blooded warrior nobility from outside the Republic. It was assumed that this was why, in its aspiration to achieve noble status, the Florentine patriciate turned to its urban origins and to the city's illustrious past, in other words, to campanilism as a 'product' of the aristocratisation process.

The question that needs to be asked is whether this assumption is correct. If it was just a 'spin-off', can it be used to explain the exceptional intensity and persistence of such love of their city on the part of Florentine patricians? I think not, and, to be perfectly honest, would rather argue the reverse. To my mind, campanilism lay at the root of the aristocratisation process that started emerging in Florence in the last decades of the sixteenth century, rather than being a consequence of that process.

Cosimo I and campanilism

Although the Florentines' love for their city is a remarkable constant permeating the whole history of Florence, it is nonetheless possible to trace the roots of the decidedly elitist campanilism being discussed here. The reasons have to be sought in the 1560s and early 1570s, during the last stages of the reign of Duke, later Grand Duke, Cosimo I de' Medici, who reigned from 1537 until 1574. Particularly notable in this final stage of Cosimo's regime was that in numerous areas he consciously instilled a systematic and narrow kind of Florentine self-consciousness among the urban upper echelons.⁸ Cosimo had good reason to adopt a political stance that might perhaps be rather difficult to explain at first sight. After his conquest of the state of Siena between 1554 and 1555 and its *de facto* incorporation into the Florentine dominion, Cosimo found himself, in 1560, at the height of his power. Immediately, he was confronted with the problem of how to make this newly gained power acceptable in Florence and thus to consolidate or even to expand it. The strategy that he chose in response to this dilemma had

⁸ Van Veen, *Cosimo de' Medici*.

clear Machiavellian traits. Where previously he had particularly emphasised his regal aspirations, he now changed his tune, making it seem as if he was only interested in the fulfilment of Florence's historical ambitions, and in leading the city to its glorious destiny.⁹ He ordered that the Florentine 'homeland' be eulogised on every occasion and in every respect, while the patriciate was continually presented as the embodiment of this Florentine mother city. The patricians were the pre-eminent perpetuators and defenders of the respectable traditions to which he, Cosimo, himself a citizen of Florence, had dedicated himself and would continue to dedicate himself.

In Cosimo's new public policy of reconciliation with the patriciate it was appropriate that he should allow its younger members to fulfil leading roles, year after year, in an unceasing series of celebrations of Florentine excellence. This permanent celebration of city traditions and uniqueness, constantly emphasised by their leader, no matter how calculated and – in hindsight – transparent it may have been, must have made a deep impression upon these young people, and continued to affect them when they were older.

A good illustration of the way in which the regime bestowed upon its young patricians a feeling of elevated Florentine pride is to be found in the events surrounding the reception of Princess Johanna of Austria in November 1565, on the occasion of her marriage to Cosimo's eldest son and heir, Francesco de' Medici. The most ostentatious display ever seen in Florence was put on for her entrance into the city.¹⁰ The route that had been mapped out for the princess extended from the Porta al Prato, the most westerly city gate, where she would arrive, to the Palazzo Vecchio in the centre of the city. At numerous points, the route was decorated with trium-

⁹ Cosimo's sudden change of course may have been influenced by his discovery at the end of 1559 of a longstanding and wide-ranging plot by important members of the Florentine patriciate to assassinate himself and his eldest son Francesco; for this see Roberto Cantagalli, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, p. 242ff. This plot must have shocked Cosimo into understanding that through his antagonistic behaviour he had alienated the very elite out of which he and his family had issued. Indeed, he could not but react harshly to the plotters: their leader, Pandolfo Pucci, was hanged from the grating of the Bargello, others were beheaded or banished. Yet, his actions immediately after this reckoning are striking: in the face of his own ruthless legislation of 1549 (the *Legge polverina*) which stipulated merciless measures against anyone who would so much as question his regime, Cosimo did not confiscate the monies and properties of the plotters. Herewith he ostentatiously demonstrated that he did not impute their guilt to their heirs. It is striking, too, that immediately after these events, he attempted to have a reconciliation with his patrician opponents, and that he recalled anti-Medici exiles to the city.

¹⁰ For the vast literature on entrances and the *apparato* see Starn and Partridge, *Arts of Power*, chapt. 3.

phal arches, gable decorations, temples, sculptures and fountains created by whole teams of artists in compliance with an extremely well thought-out iconographic programme.

The first section of the *apparato* was a gigantic celebratory arch erected in front of the Porta al Prato, dedicated to the city of Florence itself. Proudly topping the arch was Fiorenza, presented in the guise of a queen. She was accompanied by her emblems and flanked by personifications of the virtues that she had always upheld and by the qualities that had always accompanied her. In the section below, the virtues and qualities displayed by celebrated Florentine figures of every discipline from the recent and distant past – politicians, military men, literary figures, philosophers, theologians, and artists – were made explicit in painted scenes while they celebrated the perfection bestowed on their mother city. All in all, it amounted to a masterly example of urban self-glorification, which, in view of the conventions of the day, was highly unorthodox at the beginning of a royal wedding procession.¹¹

Positioned in front of this arch of Florence, awaiting the arrival of the princess, was Cosimo. Among his large entourage were five old Florentine gentlemen clad in red stockings and red satin cloaks or, in other words, the civic attire of days gone by so that their very presence underlined the glorious tableau of the scenes depicted in the arch. As soon as she reached the arch's inner space, Princess Johanna was surrounded by fifty young patricians, all of whom had been carefully selected from the oldest and most prominent families of the city; their names are explicitly recorded in the documents. They, too, were deliberately clothed in traditional-looking Florentine dress: red velvet stockings, russet velvet mantles with red satin jackets underneath and brown velvet berets on their heads.¹² The fifty young men bore an expensive canopy beneath which the princess walked as she made her way through the self-exalting city to the Palazzo Vecchio gate where she was received by her bridegroom, Francesco.

The whole company then went upstairs, into the building's great hall, the Salon de' Cinquecento, which not long before had been decorated by Giorgio Vasari and his helpers with a painted portrayal eulogising the city and its history. In this impressive setting, the guests were treated to a performance of the comedy *La Cofanaria*, which again portrayed the city in all its beauty. The curtain – a novelty, incidentally – had been painted by Frederico Zuccari and presented an idealised view of Florence. After the curtain had gone up, the décor showed a view of the Piazza Santa Trinità, then believed to be the most beautiful square in the entire city. In turn, this

¹¹ Scorza, 'Vincenzo Borghini', p. 61.

¹² Katrinzky, 'The Florentine *entrata* of Joanna of Austria'.

square formed the grand centrepiece to a whole series of canvases hung on the surrounding walls, each depicting the main squares of the major Tuscan cities.¹³ If the young patricians chanced to gaze upwards at the ceiling during the performance, Vasari's paintbrush would lead them through the city's entire illustrious history, from its Roman foundation down to their own times, the days of Cosimo.

Patriotism and nobility

It is certainly no coincidence that precisely in these years of intensified Florentine patriotic sentiment among the elite, the very first tract pertaining to the subject of the Florentine nobility was written. The tract in itself may be seen as a product of the new Florentine 'patriotism'. The conception of nobility which it presents is entirely based upon the 'amor di patria' upheld by Cosimo and his fellow citizens as a mould for life. I am referring here to the *Nobiltà delle famiglie fiorentine* by Vincenzo Borghini, the prior of the Ospedale degli Innocenti. This treatise was originally intended to form part of a unique, all-embracing, multi-volume work in which Borghini would explore the history, families, religion and famous men of Florence. It was ultimately published in 1584-85, five years after his death, as part of his 'collected works'.¹⁴

The main concept in Borghini's decidedly patriotically inspired examination of the nobility of Florentine families was 'virtù civile'. He described nobility in terms of glorious and selfless devotion to the mother city, mutual concord, and public spirit. Borghini argued that nobility was no longer the exclusive preserve of the fighting aristocrats but that it also fell to the 'togati', the civil administrators who exercised 'buon governo' in times of peace and demonstrated their 'valore militare' during wartime. Borghini did not forget to praise the harsh 'anti-magnati' legislation of the former Florentine Republic and to note with approval how the old feudal 'grandi' relinquished their feudal lifestyle in order to assimilate with the patrician

¹³ Fabbri, *et al.*, eds, *Il luogo teatrale di Firenze*; Mamone, *Il teatro*; *La scrittura e la festa*.

¹⁴ *DBI* and Vincenzo Borghini, *Storia della Nobiltà Fiorentina*, (ed. Woodhouse) pp. xiii and 13. Borghini's writings on Florentine history, noble families, and language are not dated, but according to Woodhouse the texts on noble families must have been composed around 1560 and after; cf. Vincenzo Borghini, *Storia della Nobiltà Fiorentina*, (ed. Woodhouse), p. xiii. Williams dates an early sketch of Borghini's expostulations on the origins, the important families, and the language of Florence to the 1550s 'or, at the latest, the early 1560s' (Williams, *The Sala Grande*, p. 268, note 482). The wording of this sketch shows that Borghini was then only just embarking on his great work. Both Woodhouse and Williams thus allow for the supposition that Borghini did not commence on his *opus* until the early 1560s.

life, the 'vita civile' of Florence. Thus was cultivated the 'buona cittadinanza' that 'maintained and upheld the honourable and pacific life of the city'.¹⁵

The voice of the regime clearly rings out in this description. Borghini's ideas reflect the ideological pattern that Cosimo wanted to impose upon the patricians. The aim was to emphasise mutual harmony and to insist that the elite focus unanimously on the motherland that they shared with him and which both parties needed to uphold. It appears that the Florentine elite recognised itself in Borghini's writings. More than once, patricians turned to the author requesting him to trace their ancestries and thus establish their illustriousness.¹⁶ This may indicate that Cosimo's new 'Florentinistic' policy was having the desired effect upon the urban elite.

The development of this patrician self-consciousness can also be traced in other documents. Not long after Borghini had embarked on his pioneering work, tracts began to appear in which the kind of nobility that the Florentine elite should seek to achieve was further detailed or didactically stipulated. As early as 1566, the young patrician Lorenzo Giacomini described nobility as the possession of 'virtù' and in 1574 the philosopher Francesco Vieri showed in his *Il Primo Libro della Nobiltà* that the 'nobile' draws his status and significance from the 'Comune', the civic society in which he functions. He did not primarily associate true nobility with high birth or old wealth. The *nouveaux riches* and people of more modest origins might also lay claim to the title 'nobile'. What counted was the possession of 'virtù'.¹⁷ Vieri interprets nobility as a nobility of intellect and morality, and the virtue that is particularly indicative of nobility is the 'virtù civile', which means that one is not self-seeking and certainly not out for financial gain, but is rather devoted to the honour and interests of the various communities to which one belongs, the most important of these being one's homeland or, in other words, the city. Ultimately, nobility is virtually equated with 'amor di patria'.¹⁸

Sometime later, this interpretation of nobility appeared in the form of an educational ideal in Marcello Adriani's *Lezioni sopra l'educazione della*

¹⁵ See Vincenzo Borghini, *Storia della Nobiltà Fiorentina* (ed. Woodhouse), pp. xiii, xviii, xxxix; cf. Diaz, 'L'idea di una nuova elite', p. 581.

¹⁶ Vincenzo Borghini, *Storia della Nobiltà Fiorentina* (ed. Woodhouse), p. xxiv. This concerns Antonio Benivieni en Baccio Valori, whom we shall meet below. Borghini dedicated his *Discorso intorno al modo di fare gli alberi delle famiglie nobili fiorentine* (printed in 1602) to Valori. Borghini's posthumous *Discorsi* was edited by a patrician group, and it was dedicated in large share to the Florentine patriciate.

¹⁷ Aguzzi Barbagli, 'La difesa', p. 389.

¹⁸ Francesco di Vieri, *Il Primo Libro*, pp. 12-13, 60-61, 66, 68-69 and 177.

Nobiltà Fiorentina, in which the city is both the point of departure and the objective in all the transactions of the city's elite. The ideal of the young Florentine noble was to be a 'vita civile' and to be virtuous: 'operare virtuosamente'. The good and dignified morals of the past should be reinstated so that the Florentines could once again display their worth in war and in the governance of the mother city.¹⁹ With Borghini, Giacomini, Vieri, and Adriani, the vein of the argument was always the same: the Florentine aristocracy was the 'nobiltà civile' which manifested itself by maintaining civic harmony, defending virtuous bourgeois life in accordance with traditional values and norms, and serving the mother city. Notions like these, although presented in slightly different contexts and with other intentions, can still be found in Paolo Mini's famous *Discorso della Nobiltà di Firenze e de' Fiorentini* of 1583. One of the things that Mini wanted to prove in his book was that the Florentines were as worthy of the title 'gentiluomini' as others who felt that they had more claim to it: 'In imitation of Roman modesty, they (i.e. the prominent citizens of Florence) felt satisfied to be called Citizens. They chose to be called citizens while in fact they were 'huomini gentili'.²⁰

Patriotic exaltation as self-glorification: the hall of Ludovico Capponi

Once the notion of 'servire la patria' had been given to the patricians as a kind of motto, thus providing them with the opportunity to display their nobility, it then became important to glorify the mother city as much as possible. As the sixteenth century progressed, so the patricians began to understand better and better that by exalting the mother city they were also glorifying themselves. They discovered that by doing this, they were in fact singing their own praises and those of their ancestors. This patriotic exaltation-mechanism as a form of self-glorification is well illustrated by two important decorative projects commissioned by members of the elite of the city of Florence during the last decades of the sixteenth century. In both cases, there appears to be a clear and direct link with the 'Florentinism' that Cosimo had been promoting among the patriciate since 1560.

The first project was instigated by the prominent patrician Ludovico Capponi, scion of a renowned Florentine line. In 1583, he commissioned the then famous painter, Bernardino Poccetti, to decorate with painted scenes the hall on the first floor of his house in the Lungarno Guicciardini. This palazzo had fallen into Capponi's possession following his marriage, in 1588, to Maddalena Vettori, the daughter of a patrician. Not long after their

¹⁹ In: *Prose fiorentine*, parte II, vol. I, p. 34ff.

²⁰ Mini, *Difesa*. Mini reworked this essay into his *Discorso della Nobiltà*.

union, Ludovico had become part of the immediate entourage of Cosimo. In 1574, he had been one of the people carrying the canopy above the bier at the Grand Duke's funeral. Although he was no longer so very young at the time, the Florentine patriotic sentiment with which Cosimo had imbued the city in the last period of his reign must have made a deep and lasting impression upon Capponi – indeed, an impression so deep that more than ten years after Cosimo's death he was still prepared to make Florentine patriotism the theme of the paintings in his hall, which had in fact already been adorned with a number of sculpted decorations in 1563.²¹

The iconographic programme for Poccetti's paintings, the deviser of which is unfortunately unknown, had as its theme the glorious deeds which the Capponi ancestors – Gino, Neri, Piero di Gino, and Niccolò Capponi – had performed in the service of the mother city, Florence, and for its welfare. The concept 'servire la patria' is interpreted in the cycle of images at all kinds of levels: in the choice of 'gesta', in the prominent Florentine décor against which they were depicted, and in the inscriptions for the separate scenes that were consciously not written in Latin but were composed in the 'volgare'. The 'amor di patria' is most palpable in the main inscription in the hall. In it, Ludovico recorded that the deeds of his forefathers undertaken for their mother city should be seen as incentives for 'virtù'.²² Finally, the idea that one should selflessly offer oneself up for one's homeland is underlined even more by the nine figures painted on the ceiling: three from ancient Greece (Epaminondas, Fociones, Aristides), three from the Roman past (Scipio, Camillus, Fabricius), and three from Florentine history (Antonio Giacomini, Farinata degli Uberti, Francesco Ferruccio).

Just how deeply, as regards basic philosophy and intention, the ensemble was rooted in the elitist patriotism of the 1560s becomes clear if we once again contemplate the above-mentioned Arch of Florence which was erected at the Porta al Prato in 1565, and in particular the panel that concentrated on the 'virtù militare' of Florentine citizens. Among the other illustrious figures were Gino Capponi the elder, his son Neri, and his grandson Piero, as embodiments of 'amor di patria'. The panel not only immortalised these Capponis but also the three patriotic heroes depicted on the ceiling of Ludovico's hall: Farinata degli Uberti, Antonio Giacomini, and Francesco Ferruccio.²³ It must have been the memory of that arch, which Ludovico had undoubtedly seen at the time, which functioned as an im-

²¹ Angiolini in: *DBI*, p. 63. Ginori Lisci, *I palazzi di Firenze*, p. 744. Kliemann, *Gesta dipinte*, p. 162. Cf. Hengeveld, *Poccetti's fresco's. Palazzo Capponi*.

²² Kliemann, *Gesta dipinte*, p. 167.

²³ Vasari, *Opere* (ed. Milanese), vol. 8, pp. 522-523.

portant source of inspiration when he came to create the ‘*inventione*’ for the hall.²⁴ However, the ‘*virtù militare*’ panel only depicted the heroes, not their deeds. For the latter, Ludovico and his advisors could fall back on an extensive project – which thus far has hardly been studied – initiated in the 1560s by a number of young Florentine patricians. Their intention was to document the lives of as many famous Florentines of the past as possible, ‘like beads threaded on a garland for the mother city’.²⁵ It goes without saying that the series of heroic biographies also included Capponis.²⁶ It is probably no exaggeration to see the depictions in Capponi’s hall as a kind of visual extension of the biographies project.

The patriotic sentiment and self-sacrificing spirit depicted in Capponi’s hall was probably inspired by the example of the Sala Grande in the Palazzo Vecchio. It was in that space that the Florentine patriotism instigated by Cosimo had at the time been most fervently expressed. It is even possible that Capponi felt challenged by this example. What cannot have escaped him is the fact that the contribution to Florentine history ascribed to his ancestors was simply not apparent enough in the Sala Grande. In his own hall, Ludovico was able tacitly to restore the Capponis to their rightful place in history. Evidently, the influence of Cosimo’s florentinistic politics had been so strong that, as in this case, such patriotism could even induce a touch of rivalry with the ruling family. For the rest, however, Ludovico’s hall was utterly politically correct and his blind trust in the Medici regime can be clearly enough deduced from the combined coat of arms of the reigning grand duke, Ferdinando de’ Medici, and his wife Christina of Lorraine, which featured prominently in the decorations.

Ludovico’s hall is a splendid example of how Florentine patricians seized upon glorification of the mother city as a way of extolling their ancestors and thus, ultimately, themselves. The ‘*servire la patria*’ was an excellent excuse for dynastic self-glorification. Under the slogan of ‘*amor di patria*’, the praise of one’s own family could be sounded with passion. A fitting example is provided by the three Greek and the three Roman heroes depicted on the ceiling, recalling a passage from Armenini’s *De’ veri pre-*

²⁴ Capponi may have known the copies that Borghini had had made for himself of the illustration on the Arch; cf. Scorza, ‘A new drawing’.

²⁵ See the dedication to Baccio Valori by Benivieni in his *Vita di Pier Vettori l’Antico* already written in 1565, which suggests that the *vitae*-project found its inspiration in the Arch of Florence and the parade of heroes depicted on it. On this *vitae*-project see Williams, ‘The Façade’, p. 220 and note 34; Van Veen, *Cosimo de’ Medici*, p. 116ff.

²⁶ Bernardo Segni’s earlier life of Niccolò Capponi was revived and a new one was written by the young patrician Vincenzo Acciaiuoli, who also devoted one to Niccolò’s father, Piero, de hero of the Pisan War.

cetti della pittura, where it was asserted that it was only in the palazzi of prominent families boasting great military prowess that such emphatic references to classical heroism was acceptable.²⁷ Another case is provided by the imposing series of portraits of members of the Capponi family who where *Gonfalonieri di giustizia* – the highest office known to the Republic of Florence. In this series, the notion of ‘amor di patria’ is almost too implicit, placing family renown and, with it, self-glorification over-explicitly in the foreground.

Baccio Valori's façade

In the second example to be given here a similar mechanism was at work. In much the same way, the individual commissioning the work used the concept of glorification of the mother city with the underlying aim of placing himself on a pedestal. In this case, however, this was not done by glorifying his ancestors. Baccio Valori, the person in question, did not try to aggrandise himself and his position by standing on the shoulders of Valori family ancestors: rather, he tried to achieve his goal by inflating the greatness of the Florentine ‘patria’ even more and then have it reflect back upon himself.

The project in question, undertaken between 1598 and 1604, involved a series of busts sculpted by Giovanni Bandini, which Valori placed on the façade and in the entrance to his palazzo in the Borgo degli Albizzi.²⁸ The busts depicted various Florentines who, from the thirteenth century to Baccio's own day, had distinguished themselves as poets, philosophers, historians, religious thinkers, or statesmen. The historic figures represented included Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Marsilio Ficino, Amerigo Vespucci, San Antonino, San Filippo Neri, Vincenzio Borghini, ending with the bust of Baccio himself, the only person still alive, which was placed in the entrance to the palace.

The busts, all of which were draped in togas, were mounted on pedestals which, with their solid square forms, symbolised the ‘virtù’ of the sculpted figures. Each figure was adorned with the historical ‘republican’ Florentine bourgeois headgear, and the inscriptions indicated who they were and what they had accomplished. It is possible to deduce from contemporary commentary what Baccio was aiming to achieve with these busts. According to one contemporary, he wanted thereby to ‘stimulate the Florentine

²⁷ Giovanni Battista Armenini, *De' veri precetti della pittura* (ed. Gorreri), book 3, chapt. 9, p. 207 (in connection with the Palazzo Doria in Genua); cited by Boschloo, ‘The representation of history’.

²⁸ Cf. Williams, ‘The Façade’; Pegazzano, ‘I “visacci” di Borgo degli Albizzi’.

youth to imitate their worthy deeds, a sentiment that was truly deserving of his (Baccio's) goodness and love of motherland'.²⁹

Valori was a descendant of an old family with markedly republican leanings, various members of which had been prominent within the anti-Medici camp. Even Baccio's own father had had to pay with his life for making a stand against Cosimo in the early days of the latter's regime. Thereafter, Baccio had fallen into line with the ever-stronger dominion that Cosimo was managing to secure over the city until, in the 1560s, his total support of the goals of the Medici regime was finally consolidated. Already at a young age, he had been made consul of the Accademia Fiorentina, a literary academy which had been placed under state supervision two decades before. In later years, he embellished his *curriculum vitae* by becoming senator, director of the famous Biblioteca Laurenziana, and chairman of the Accademia del Disegno, the Florentine academy of art.³⁰

Even more than Ludovico Capponi, Baccio Valori must have been receptive to the ideological winds of change whipped up by Cosimo in the city in the 1560s. Not only was he younger than his fellow citizen, he also had more reason, because of his dubious political background, to want to curry favour with Cosimo. Perhaps that is the reason why, so many years later, echoes of Cosimo's Florentine patriotism still rang through so strongly in his façade project (and why references to his own ancestors were lacking).

In different ways it becomes evident how heavily Baccio leaned on the Cosimo I era for inspiration for his project, even though by then Cosimo had been dead for two decades. For instance, he ordered the bust of the first Grand Duke to be placed above the palace's entrance, which meant that Cosimo's effigy was right in the centre of the pictorial programme. He had the words 'mihi mecenate' inscribed above the bust of Cosimo. A more indirect link can also be seen with the 'Florentinism' of the 1560s. Just as with Ludovico Capponi's hall, and perhaps even more pronouncedly, Baccio's façade demonstrates an affinity with the biographical project referred to several times here. All of Valori's personages, without exception, were present in the panels of the Arch of Florence of 1565, the monument which first inspired the biographies initiative. Moreover, Valori himself had been closely involved in that project and had personally contributed to it.³¹ Another strong reason for viewing the façade in this light is the initiative taken by Baccio's son, Filippo Valori, to dedicate a *vita* to some of the

²⁹ Letter from Girolamo Papponi (1605), cited by Peganazzo, 'I "visacci" di Borgo degli Albizzi', p. 60.

³⁰ Williams, 'The Façade'.

³¹ Baccio's edition of 1568 of Niccolò Valori's famous biography of Lorenzo il Magnifico was part of this project.

Florentines depicted.³² Filippo would, in turn, inspire the prolific Florentine writer, Francesco Bocchi, to write and publish, in 1609, his *Elogiorum, quibus viri Clarissimi nati Florentiae decorantur*, a work comprising biographical details on *all* the citizens represented in Baccio's façade and in his *cortile*, with several others added.³³ It is even possible that in his treatise Bocchi is narrating the stories of the lives of all the figures that Baccio originally had in mind but for which there was not enough space on the façade and in the *cortile*.

The manifestation of 'amor di patria' which Baccio's façade constituted also served a specific purpose. The busts were a response to the barrage of accusations which, towards the end of the sixteenth century, was being loosed upon Florence from cities such as Ferrara and Mantua. Uneasy about the tremendous growth in status that the city of Florence had undergone since the dawn of the Medici grand duchy in 1570, the elites of those cities, who were extremely proud of their aristocratic distinction, did everything in their power to depreciate the Florentine patriciate. Their attack was meant to show that Florence, despite its now having a court, would never be able to free itself of its original bourgeois-mercantile character and that its patriciate could therefore never truly rise to the degree of nobility which they themselves had been able to acquire in the course of history.³⁴ The Florentine patricians did not take this quietly and retorted in all kinds of ways, predominantly in writing – as is aptly illustrated by the *Discorso della Nobiltà di Firenze e de' Fiorentini* of Paolo Mini mentioned above – but also in images, as Baccio's façade indeed illustrates.³⁵ What the busts proved was that Florence, and therefore its elite, had a definite claim to nobility, perhaps more so than the Ferraraese or the Mantuans. After all, were those cities able to lay claim to even a fraction of the venerable and awe-inspiring tradition of learning, literature, science, art and piety that Baccio was able to evoke in his façade, a tradition that he, Baccio, and his fellow elite had managed to perpetuate? Did not such a tradition of elevated culture make people equally or perhaps even more entitled to nobility than 'blue blood' and cavalier deeds? Baccio's façade was his patent of nobility.

³² Filippo Valori, *I termini*; cf. Williams, 'The Façade', p. 223.

³³ Williams, 'The Façade', p. 239.

³⁴ Williams, 'The Sala Grande'.

³⁵ Whereas Borghini, Adriani and Vieri emphasised especially the *vivere civile* that should be the hallmark of the Florentine *nobile* – in distinction from traditional concepts of 'feudal' nobility – Mini attempted to minimalise the difference between the Florentine *nobile* and those of, for example, Ferrara and Mantua.

The patrician courtier: Niccolò Dell'Antella

The Capponi and Valori examples demonstrate that the Florentine patricians' aspirations to nobility towards the end of the sixteenth century had their roots in the Florentine patriotism that Cosimo had earlier inculcated among them. To put it another way, Cosimo's florentinistic politics turned out to be a prerequisite for the much-debated aristocratisation process that the Florentine patriciate began to undergo around 1600. At the same time, it is clear that the swing away from 'nobiltà civile' and towards 'nobiltà, *tout court* cannot be separated from the ever more powerful and elevated position that Cosimo's successors were enjoying in the city as Grand Dukes. Unlike Cosimo, his sons Francesco (r. 1574-1587) and Ferdinando (r. 1587-1608) had to resort less often to the roundabout solution of using the city to bind the elite to them as their rulers. Florentinisation was no longer opportune; the elite could now be orientated towards the ruler and the court much more directly.³⁶ Precisely for that reason, Cosimo's successors encouraged the elite to continue on the path of self-exaltation, since this would hasten the emergence of a courtly aristocracy which, in turn, would heighten their own illustriousness as rulers. There were clearly mutual interests at play here and Scipione Ammirato recognised this better than anyone. Smoothly latching on to the process that was already underway, he endeavoured to induce the elite further to relinquish the city as their point of reference in favour of the ruler.³⁷

In the first decades of the seventeenth century, the ideal envisaged by Ammirato seemed to be getting closer. This is nicely illustrated by an extensive decoration project commissioned in 1619-1620 by senator Niccolò Dell'Antella, a member of an old and respectable Florentine family.³⁸ Aided by his influential uncle, senator Donato Dell'Antella, Niccolò rose rapidly

³⁶ Berner, 'Florentine society'; Weissmann, *Ritual Brotherhood*.

³⁷ From this it is clear that it is incorrect to lump the ideas of Borghini and Ammirato on nobility together, as is often done. Borghini did not intend at all to transform the Florentine patriciate into a court nobility which would primarily, as it were, 'decorate' the Grand Duke regardless the fact that when he began to write his treatise on the *nobiltà* there was not even yet a Grand Duke (Cosimo was not crowned Grand Duke until 1570). His theme, like that of Vieri and Adriani, was not the court and how to embellish it with fitting retinues of nobility but rather the city and the fame and glory that might be garnered by those who serve its greatness and who strive for its well-being. Although Borghini clearly had a very different conception of *nobiltà* than Ammirato, his ideas did serve as a presupposition for Ammirato's goals. Borghini's *nobiltà civile* was to be transformed into the *nobiltà di corte* envisaged by Ammirato.

³⁸ Thiem and Thiem, *Toskanische Fassaden-Dekoration*, pp. 146-148. The authors incorrectly attribute this project to Donato Dell'Antella.

through the Florentine *cursus honorum* to become confidant and advisor to the Grand Duke. Through his accumulation of functions he became so prosperous that in 1619, by then a senator and at the peak of his career, he was able to order a large new palace to be built on the Piazza Santa Croce. He commissioned a team of Florentine artists, led by Giovanni da San Giovanni, to complete an immense work of art covering the two upper floor levels of the façade, which can still be seen today, despite being very faded.³⁹ The fresco depicts five series of allegorical figures of the virtues and the sciences, one above the other. In a central position, directly above the main entrance, was the sculpted bust of the then ruling Grand Duke, Cosimo II de' Medici, flanked by the painted personifications of Florence and Siena, each with its own emblem: the lion and the wolf. Niccolò had a painted portrait of himself placed in the upper row of representations, just beneath the *mezzanino*.

At first sight, it might seem that the Florentinism so evident in Ludovico Capponi's hall and Baccio Valori's façade has waned in this fresco. Not only has Niccolò given the reigning ruler pride of place on his façade, but he has also had him portrayed as a territorial ruler rather than as a defender of only the Florentine homeland. Although certain references to 'republicanism' can be detected in the figures representing the virtues, it is greatly generalised to extend to 'Il Governo della Repubblica' and also neutralised by including 'La Gloria dei Principi' and 'La Maestà' in the scene too. In the case of Dell'Antella, he no longer needed to play the 'amor patria' card to display his prestige and status. His example shows that by this stage it was through honouring the ruler that the Florentine patricians were seeking to elevate themselves, through the ruler who bestowed prestige in exchange for 'Fedeltà', a virtue that stands out among the other allegorical figures on the façade.

However, Dell'Antella's courtly aspirations had little to do with subservience but rather found their origins in a patrician-senatorial awareness of social position. This becomes obvious if we compare, for a moment, the iconographic programme of the frescos with the façade decoration that a Spanish protégé of Cosimo I, Montalvo, had had painted on the façade of his palace at the time.⁴⁰ We look in vain for the personifications of 'Obedientia' and 'Secretezza' that feature on Montalvo's façade in Dell'Antella's frescos. Clearly, for Dell'Antella, being a courtier did not involve mute compliance and the same would certainly have applied to others of his so-

³⁹ Almost all painters who were of any importance in the city at that time took part in this project (Passignano, Rosselli, Vannini, Boschi etc.); in fact, the façade is a very simple of early seventeenth-century Florentine painting.

⁴⁰ Thiem and Thiem, *Toskanische Fassaden-Dekoration*, p. 37.

cial class. Regardless of the deference that Niccolò undoubtedly showed to his sovereign, he will only have felt like his subject to a very limited degree since the awareness of being a descendant of an ancient and prominent Florentine line would have been too strong in him. The senatorial pride that Niccolò possessed is strikingly evident in a tract that he wrote in 1630, shortly before his death, entitled *Ragioni di precedenza a favore dei signori senatori con i signori auditori*. In this document, he demands that the prominent position traditionally occupied by the Florentine Senate be honoured and that the senators not be overshadowed by ministers of the Grand Duke, who were, on the whole, *homines novi*. Dell'Antella describes the senators in a clear reference to the constitution of 1532 as 'members of this body (the Senate) where the head is the sovereign' before going on to state that the auditori 'are not members of this body but merely ministers'.⁴¹

Ultimately, it was a sign of the changed times that Niccolò only partly succeeded with his treatise: although the senators took precedence over only the less important of the Grand Duke's ministers, the two most important ones always took precedence over them. Although weakened, the senatorial feeling of status and the notion of forming one body with the ruler was nevertheless kept alive among members of the Florentine elite. Despite the grandeur assumed by the Grand Duke and his court later in the century, the 'noble patricians' would never become real courtiers. Nothing was to come of Ammirato's 'hosts of angels around God's throne' in Florence.

⁴¹ *DBI*, 37, p. 123. *membra di questo corpo del quale è capo il Principe: 'non membri di questo corpo, ma solo ministri....'*

CULTURE AND POWER IN NAPLES FROM 1450 TO 1650

Davide Canfora

One defining characteristic of the relationship between culture and power in the kingdom of Naples – during the period under consideration, but also in the preceding and following centuries – was the largely uncontested acceptance by the intellectual class of the monarchy as the form of government. The troubles that periodically assailed the crown down the centuries were more connected with the power struggle between the nobility and the monarch, not with the existence of the monarchy itself, and highlighted how difficult it was for the court to check the centrifugal and autonomist surges resulting from the demands of the nobles: for example, the so-called Barons' Plot in 1485-86, which, even if eventually thwarted, opened up an incurable wound in the system of monarchy established just forty years before by the Aragonese. A republican ideology, by contrast, did not take root in the south of Italy; even the most important uprising in Naples in the modern age, the Masaniello revolt (1647-48), was substantially unpolitical, apart from being short-lived, confined almost exclusively to the centre of Naples and, above all, not an ideological attack on the monarchy. No coordinated anti-monarchic, republican insurrection would be seen in Naples until the Parthenopean revolution of 1799, which, being instigated by a narrow intellectual class and inspired by an imported ideology rather than by concrete demands from the people, developed only in the capital of the kingdom, aroused largely indifference in most of the population and, as a result of the resistance organised by the nobles with the actual support of the lowest peasant classes, petered out in a few months.

It is important, and not as obvious as it might seem, to begin by emphasising how republican ideology was quite foreign to Naples and Neapolitan intellectuals. In the course of the fifteenth century, when humanism was coming of age, the defence of republican ideals, associated with the myth of ancient *virtus*, was one of the most recurrent motifs in Italian culture and particularly in Florence, which was not of course the only centre of humanism – as recent studies highlighting the value and originality of regional humanism have demonstrated – but was without doubt at the forefront of the movement and the place where it was embraced most enthusiastically. Up to the time when Charles VIII's invasion highlighted the intrinsic weakness of the Italian states – or perhaps it should be said until the Cateau-Cambrésis peace treaty of 1559, when the dominion of the great European powers over the Italian peninsula appeared to be established irremovably – the monarchic ideology was therefore anything but

uncontested in Italy as a whole. Even if an exception is made for Venice, a republican oligarchy *sui generis* which survived for centuries in splendid and secure isolation, it is precisely the example of Florence that demonstrates how enduring the humanist myth of the republic actually was: it would take a century of history, from the beginning of the de' Medici principedom to the time of Cosimo the Elder, when the main and paradoxical problem for the Signoria was not to appear as a monarchy to the Florentines, for Machiavelli to be able to make the dramatic and drastic assertion, in the first book of *Discourses*, that Florence had never been a republic;¹ after this it would be just a few years before the emergence of an openly monarchic, and stable, form of government under the grand-duke Cosimo I.

Now, in Naples the republican myth – such a typically humanist phenomenon – did not take root. It is true that with the creation of the communes, the local autonomous bodies of the late medieval period, there came into being the very same republican institutions which to some extent were still to be found in the fifteenth century, promoting – in the Florence of Coluccio Salutati and Leonardo Bruni, for example – the idea of a model going right back to the Roman republic. The last manifestations of local autonomy in the south of Italy, however, were the maritime republics, which did not survive under the centralism of first the Normans then the Swabians. Nor did Angevin rule alter the overall picture: the intrinsic weakness of the Angevins, evident in the slow and wearying decline that began after the death of King Robert and ended with the deposition of Giovanna II, rather favoured the local potentates of the new feudalism – and this was the background to the tortured relationship that developed in subsequent centuries between the barons and the sovereign.

The definitive seizing of power by Alphonse the Magnanimous, in 1442, and the beginning of Aragonese rule, was therefore nothing other than one of many instances of power passing from one dynasty to another in the tortured history of southern Italy in the modern age: these power shifts were greeted with neither enthusiasm nor hostility by the ordinary people, who confined themselves to gradual participation in the 'triumphs' of the new

¹ 'It is no wonder that those cities which were under dominion from the beginning found it not difficult but impossible ever to organise themselves so as to ensure a civilised and peaceful way of life. One need only consider the example of Florence, which, having been subject from its beginnings to Roman rule and having always been governed by outsiders, experienced a period of abjection and inability to focus on itself. Then, once it was able to breathe more freely, it began to make its own laws; these, because they were mixed with ancient laws, which were bad, could not be good. And thus it went on for two hundred years – which is as far as the records go back – without ever becoming a state that might really be called a republic'. (Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I, 49).

sovereigns – by enjoying for example the resulting temporary material benefits; on the other hand, the reaction of the high profile intellectual class, members of which were intelligently included in the new rulers' entourage, was openly favourable.

The historical period under discussion, from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, is symbolically framed in fact by two triumphs, obvious and at the same time unintentionally grotesque imitations of the triumphs of ancient Roman generals: the triumph of Alphonse in the mid fourteen-hundreds and, in the mid sixteen-hundreds that of the viceroy, the Count of Oñate, who succeeded the Duke of Arcos after the suppression of the Masaniello uprisings. The triumph, even if recalling republican Rome, actually emerged in the collective imagination of the first modern age as the clearest representation and celebration of monarchic power in the figure of the *imperator*: a further proof, then, of the gulf that separated the Neapolitan world from republican institutions.

The main political author of Aragonese Naples was without doubt Giovanni Pontano (1428-1503), whose role as an intellectual leader in the second part of the fifteenth century is beyond dispute. As well as being a philologist of distinction and a poet, he was also a great theorist in that art of *sermo* that would continue to be a subject for discussion and analysis in the Italian courts of the sixteenth century: from this point of view Pontano was the inspiration, in the Renaissance age, for Baldassar Castiglione and Stefano Guazzo. Obviously, this role of forerunner was possible precisely on account of the courtly circles in which Pontano was operating: namely Naples, where the role of the prince, as has been pointed out, was never challenged by a republican alternative and where, in fact, from the first the problem arose of how to define the sphere of activity of the courtiers and the relationship between the intellectuals *cum* courtiers on the one hand and the sovereign on the other. The solution was a foreshadowing of a sixteenth-century scenario: there began – as Francesco Tateo wrote – ‘a movement towards the courtly ethos and the code of behaviour of the following century’.² This was a long way from the ‘Platonic’ demands for the intellectual to share in power – one of the aspirations of the civic humanists at the beginning of the fifteenth century – and a decisive move towards a situation where the humanist would be, within the court, the trusted secretary of the prince. Pontano, in fact, carried out serious and delicate diplomatic missions for his masters.

² Pontano, *I libri delle virtù sociali*, p. 9. Cf. also Tateo, *Umanesimo etico di Giovanni Pontano*.

In terms of his political thinking too, Pontano was an important forerunner of the ideals of the Renaissance.³ His 1468 epistle, *De principe*, addressed to Alphonse, Duke of Calabria, nephew of Alphonse the Magnanimous and heir to the throne, is an authentic *institutio principis*: a literary genre that was not new but was popular with the shrewdest and sharpest thinkers of the sixteenth century, including, amongst others, Machiavelli and Erasmus of Rotterdam. The most striking thing about Pontano's political writing is certainly not his enumeration of the more or less ideal virtues which should determine a prince's style of government. On this point it can certainly not be ruled out that one of the writers Machiavelli had in mind when commenting wryly in Chapter XV of *Principe* on the many authors before him who had 'imagined republics and principedoms that have never been seen or known in the real world' was Pontano. It is, however, indisputable that of all fifteenth-century writing on the figure of the prince, Pontano's boasts some of the most refined and articulate reasoning: this is evident for example when, in *De magnanimitate*, he perspicaciously distinguishes an absolute sovereign like Alexander the Great from a monarch like Julius Caesar, who had limited powers and who was 'mistreated' by philo-republican historians down the ages rather worse than he deserved.⁴ The distinction is an interesting and slightly unusual example of humanist attentiveness to variety and to different characteristics within an institution.

It is evident from Pontano's work that the sense of disenchantment that had characterised the main political writers of the first part of the fifteenth century had been completely dispelled. It should be pointed out that that disenchantment, for example in the writings of Leon Battista Alberti and Poggio Bracciolini, had underlain the complexity and often bitter awareness of fifteenth-century political literature and had provided many of the bases for realism and Machiavellian pragmatism. Pontano's thinking, on the other hand, seems to be inspired by serenity and a sense of proportion: from that point of view his political writing is eminently courtly in nature. This, however, in no way detracts from Pontano's importance not so much as the architect of the creation of a new state, nor therefore in the field that brought renown to Machiavelli, the direct heir to the great political humanism of the first part of the fifteenth century, but rather as the forerunner of that teaching of behaviour by precept, not necessarily political (in the strict sense of the word), that would dominate the courts from the sixteenth century on.

The opening lines of the *De principe* epistle to Alphonse are nicely representative of Pontano's political viewpoint. In what is undoubtedly a carefully thought out choice, he identifies Scipio Africanus as the first great

³ Cf. Finzi, *Re, baroni, popolo*.

⁴ Pontano, *De magnanimitate*, I, 47 (pp. 67-72).

model of virtue to imitate: he points out to the future monarch the greatness of the republican hero *par excellence*, the hero who from the times of Petrararch, and also just a few years earlier in the 1435 dispute between Poggio Bracciolini and Guarino Veronese, had been held up as an alternative to the monarchic model represented by Julius Caesar. However, it was precisely the fact that, for Pontano, the question of Scipio's or Caesar's superiority – and consequently the traditional, lengthy debate on the respective merits of monarchy and republic, to which Machiavelli would again refer in *Discourses* – was of no importance, which made it possible to patch up the damage and rebuild the relationship of trust between men of letters and the sovereign, which had been seriously weakened by the most important writing of the crisis of civic humanism. After the grotesque representation of power put forward by Alberti in *Momus* and after Bracciolini's tragic description of the unhappiness of potentates (Bracciolini himself had ended up in 1440, some years after the dispute with Guarino, by recognising that Caesar and Scipio were both in fact distinguished examples of princes unhappy in their own particular ways), Pontano attempted, in a policy-defining epistle recommending Africanus as a model to the heir of the throne of Naples, to demonstrate that the ancient portrayal of Scipio and Caesar as diametric opposites was in fact without foundation – they were both great men who had lived in different, non-comparable eras, as he implies in *De magnanimitate* – and, most importantly, each of these ancient heroes had something to teach the modern age, since they had both been not so much unhappy princes as examples of great virtue mixed with certain very human vices (and in the spirit of understanding and 'tolerance' that this inspires, one can appreciate the full sense of proportion of Pontano's Aristotelianism). If Caesar had striven against the limits imposed by the *res publica* on his personal power, Scipio – Pontano tells us, in *De immanitate* – had never sought to prevent his fellow citizens from considering him as descended from the gods; this was one of the forms of *insania* with which Alexander the Great was traditionally reproached.

'Caesarism' had moreover played a part in the inception of the Aragonese court: not only in the studied symbology of Alphonse's aforementioned triumph, but also in the propagandist reconstructions of the historians who had clustered around the new rulers. Even before Pontano's historical works began to take shape, Bartolomeo Facio (1400-1457) and Antonio Panormita (1394-1471) put together an account of Neapolitan history, the principal aim of which was to legitimise the seizing of power by the Aragonese at the end of the long decline of Angevin rule, and to allude to the figure of the new king in mythological terms that portrayed Caesar, the first monarch in the Roman world, as a model of all that was good. No less ideologically charged was the Roman humanist Lorenzo Valla's creation for the Aragonese of a work on 'courtly' history, although his narrative picture was

complicated by his explicitly-stated classicistic aim of carrying out his historical research as purely a search for the truth.

It should be emphasised that ‘Caesarism’, no less than the republican enthusiasm of the first civic humanists or the ferocious pessimism of the later disillusioned civic humanists, was one of the aspects of the secularisation of humanism. Just as when Leonardo Bruni fondly recalled Dante’s role as an intellectual involved in city politics and lovingly admired the myth of the rebirth of Athens in modern Florence, or when, in contrast, Poggio and Alberti, quoting Seneca and Lucan, laid bare the vices and wretchedness inseparably connected with leadership, so too when Pontano portrayed the modern monarch as resembling the greatest men with power in the ancient world (without, moreover, concealing their limits and weaknesses), the resulting image of the sovereign was humanised and, above all, laicised.

It is absolutely clear that it was from the world of courtly intellectuals gathered round the Aragonese sovereign that the most significant *de principe* teaching by precept of the humanist age – the key work being Pontano’s own aforementioned *De principe* – emerged⁵. This was a genre that had already enjoyed a certain popularity in medieval times and was not unknown in the ancient world. In the fifteenth century it obviously flourished outside the Neapolitan area: beyond the borders of the kingdom of Naples perhaps the most famous and serious example was Bartolomeo Platina’s *De principe*.⁶ Moreover, the genre, as has been pointed out, persisted in the following centuries, when it interwove with the more typically fifteenth- and sixteenth-century political themes such as reason of state, the absolute monarchy and the Christian education of the prince.

The fundamental themes of this teaching by precept are clearly discernible in Pontano’s ethical-political prose. The treatises on the so-called social virtues (*De liberalitate*, *De beneficentia*, *De magnificentia*, *De splendore*, *De conviventia*), the *De oboedientia* and the *De magnanimitate* are, as the titles suggest, treatises on various subjects concerning how a prince and, more generally, men of court, should behave. The guiding principle is again the ideal of Aristotelian equilibrium, both on a moral plane and on the plane of political (in the strictest sense of the term) action. In the light of the Aristotelian ideal of the right balance, Pontano – as has already been mentioned – returns to a key theme of fifteenth century political writing, the comparison between Scipio, Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great, and provides an uninhibited, layman’s analysis of the best that each of those ancient princes

⁵ Cf. Figliuolo, *La cultura a Napoli nel secondo Quattrocento*.

⁶ Cf. the modern critical edition: Batholomaei Platinae *De principe*, edited by G. Ferrà (Palermo, 1979).

had to offer. Scipio's credentials as republican hero certainly no longer appear to make him Pontano's clear first choice as a model (if anything, in the epistle *De principe* it is actually Scipio's princely qualities that Pontano so approves of); but Caesar too, in theory the perfect model to offer the Aragonese monarchs, is portrayed by Pontano as a man of both virtues and defects: the humanist censures the Roman's excesses while pointing out that the limits imposed by the republican institutions had clipped the wings of his innate *magnanimitas*. Finally, as regards Alexander the Great, he recognises the conqueror's objective greatness but also notes the damaging example of behaviour set by a leader completely incapable of the most basic self-control – which rendered him incompatible with Pontano's ideal of *mediocritas*. A kind of counter melody to the treatises on behaviour is to be found in the above-mentioned *De immanitate*, the work in which Pontano describes the most unacceptable behaviour of the great men of the past: he provides an interesting series of negative case studies, inspired perhaps by Poggio Bracciolini's *De infelicitate principum*, in which are included the names of some of the men portrayed in a positive light in other works.

Many minor works also played an influential role in shaping the development of the court: *De regis et bonis principis officio* by Diomede Carafa (1407-1487), for example, and *De maiestate* dedicated in 1492 by Iuniano Maio (ca. 1435-ca. 1493) to Ferdinand I of Aragon. The twenty chapters of the latter work are a good example of the commonest medieval and humanist *de principe* clichés; it considers subjects dealt with at length by Pontano himself: benignity, constancy, generosity, love of truth, grandeur, the need to keep flatterers at arm's length and to show gratitude to supporters and subjects. Carafa, on the other hand, was the author of a considerable number of political memorials, not all addressed to Aragonese rulers. The memorial genre was to meet with great success in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and other examples from the south of Italy will be mentioned later. *De regis et bonis principis officio* is in fact Carafa's most famous, as well as being the most important from the point of view of political teaching by precept.

An accurate picture of the world of the court would not be complete without mention of certain literary and theological figures who held significant positions there. Among these were Matteo dell'Aquila (1410-1475), Pietro Ranzano (1426/27-1492/93) and Angelo Catone (1430-1496), as well as Giovanni Antonio Campano (1429-1477), who enriched the genre of treatises on behaviour with his *De ingratitude fugienda*, and to the genre of historical encomium contributed the biographies of the condottiere, Braccio da Montone; there was also the Venetian, Paolo Paladino (ca. 1450-1500), whose recently rediscovered *oratio* addressed to Frederick of Aragon

is an interesting mixture of panegyric and *institutio principis*.⁷ The abundance of encomiastic oratory from the Aragonese age should not be forgotten either; although a relatively marginal genre, its association with events such as the weddings of princes, lend it obvious political weight. The encomiastic poetry of the period is also worthy of consideration. As well as the traditional and ever popular epic, lyric and epigrammatic forms, on which this is not the place to dwell, the south of Italy witnessed, from the Angevin period on, an outpouring – a homage to the great Petrarchan and Boccaccian model – of pastoral poems containing political allegories (an example of similar writing outside the kingdom of Naples was the pastoral poetry written by Boiardo at the court of Ferrara). An important figure in this field was Giambattista Cantalicio, who was writing during the delicate transition from Aragonese to Spanish (viceroy) rule and was able to enjoy the protection of the Great Captain Consalvo of Cordoba.

Of a decidedly different stamp, but still closely associated with Aragonese culture, was the work of the humanist Antonio Galateo (1444-1517), a doctor from the Salento. Although geographically peripheral and ideologically anti-conformist, as well as being heavily influenced by Greek culture and largely refractory to the more hackneyed *topoi* of the humanistic *vulgata*, he was in close contact with Naples and with the leading exponents of southern Italian culture of the period, most importantly Pontano. Amongst his ethical-political writings, which were characterised by a lively spirit of provocation, it is worth remembering the epistle to Gelasius, *De nobilitate* – in which he revives the typically fifteenth-century quest for the true nature of nobility and becomes one of the most subversive voices on the subject, asserting that the appellation ‘nobilis’ is always ridiculous except when applied to the virtuous man – and, above all, the dialogue *Eremita*, in which the complexity of Galateo’s political criticism is evident not only from the obvious affinities of the work with Erasmus’s *Julius exclusus*, but also from his rediscovery of that pessimistic disillusionment regarding power, that had characterised the most progressive and perceptive writers of the crisis of civic humanism.

Two writers who shared Galateo’s moralistic pessimism were Tristano Caracciolo (1437-1528) and Pandolfo Collenuccio (1444-1504). The former also contributed to the *quaestio de nobilitate*, defending the traditional idea of Neapolitan nobility and disputing the theory of nobility being inseparable from virtue, which Poggio Bracciolini had put forward in 1440 and which had been espoused by most subsequent humanists (including Galateo). Caracciolo was also the author of a *De varietate fortunae*, which from Bracciolini’s work of the same name took not only its title but also the author’s

⁷ Cf. Valerio, *Un intellettuale tra petrarchismo e 'institutio principis'*.

scant faith in the morality of human behaviour in historical (and political) events. Collenuccio, from Pesaro, was one of the most liberal and critical thinkers of the second part of the fifteenth century: his experience of the south is related in *Compendio delle istorie del regno di Napoli* ['A Compendium of the Histories of the Kingdom of Naples'], which was written some years after his time at the Aragonese court. His tormented and unfortunate relationship with the court, when it metamorphoses into the Lucian-like sarcasm of the *Operette morali*, is very typical of the position of writers in that historical period, beginning around the middle of the fifteenth century, in which the only role possible for the man of culture in Italy was that of courtier.

After the fall of the Aragonese dynasty in 1503 and the end of the struggle between the French and the Spanish for control of the south of Italy (1494-1504), the kingdom that Alphonse the Magnanimous had re-established passed into the hands of the Spanish royal family, which would enjoy a period of unbroken rule until 1707. In Naples, as in other Italian regions under their dominion, the Spanish royals in fact governed from afar and without significant influence. Between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this led to a increase in the effective power of the viceroys, who gradually took over the running of the south of Italy and often even became rulers almost completely autonomous of the Spanish crown. A more important consequence, however, was the growth of local discontent and the strengthening of the role of the barons, who – as has been pointed out – had already, during the period of Aragonese dominion, been a serious thorn in the side of the rulers and who would continue to be in conflict with the sovereign. Parallel to this apparent institutional stability, which was actually a kind of socio-political stasis rooted in the undeniable decay of the whole of society and containing the beginnings of serious disunion, there was obviously a decline in cultural output, which might be said to be symbolised by the closure, in 1543, of what had been the main centre of cultural activity in fifteenth-century Naples: the Academy which had first taken its name from its founder Antonio Panormita (*Porticus Antoniana*) and then from Giovanni Pontano. The Pontanian Academy, it should be said, had been for almost a century a fine and rather rare example of efficient cooperation and solidarity between the monarchy and the intellectuals of court, as is evident also from the relative loyalty shown by intellectuals at the time of the fall of the Aragonese dynasty: even if the welcome to Naples for Charles VIII in 1494 was organised by Pontano, who had stayed in the city as a representative of the departing King Frederick of Aragon, Sannazaro faithfully followed the latter into exile in France in 1501 and returned to his homeland only in 1504, after Frederick's death.

From the sixteenth century on, in fact, a great number of academies sprang up in the kingdom and in the whole of the Italian peninsula: some of

these were characterised by considerable literary vivacity and inspired – like the first great fifteenth-century innovative academies and avant-garde ones such as the Lyncean Academy – by philosophical and scientific interests (for example, the Academy of the Investigators, the Academy of the *Oziosi* and della Porta's Academy of Secrets) and were for that reason destined to come into conflict, latent or open, with the ruling power; other, minor or lesser academies succeeded only in provincialising local culture and in wasting the energies of intellectuals in pointless debates.⁸

The lazy stability of the kingdom under the viceroys was ruffled, on a political level, by several popular uprisings, which gave voice to the very real discontent of the populace: the most famous of these, the aforementioned Masaniello revolt (1647-48), neatly closes the period under examination.

Carrying on the historiographical tradition of Neapolitan humanism, which in the middle of the fifteenth century had been an ideological keystone of the new Aragonese regime, history-writing – a genre linked by its very nature to political writing – continued between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to be an important activity for intellectuals in the south of Italy. The results were often impressive. Girolamo Borgia (1475-1550), whose historical work written in Latin was a seamless continuation of Pontano's *De bello neapolitano*, saw some of his writing plagiarised by Guicciardini in *Storia d'Italia*. Borgia himself had lifted some parts of his account from the writings of Bernardo Rucellai. But at the height of the Renaissance southern Italian history was written predominantly in the vernacular: exponents most worthy of mention are Angelo Di Costanzo (1507-1591), Camillo Porzio (1526-1580), Giovanni Antonio Summonte (died 1606), Sertorio Quattromani (1541-1607) and Francesco Capecepatro (1596-1670).

In southern Italian literature in the period spanning the Renaissance and Baroque eras there were also interesting examples of the *institutio principis* genre and of treatises on behaviour. One political writer of note in the first half of the sixteenth century was Agostino Nifo (ca. 1469-1546), a versatile writer and itinerant intellectual, probably from Sessa Aurunca, who also taught in Naples. His name is connected with the infamous plagiarism of Machiavelli's *Principe*, which he stole and translated into Latin under the title *De regnandi peritia*.⁹ moreover, Nifo's treatise *De rege et tyranno* is nothing other than composite plagiarism, consisting in a disorganised collection of other writers' works (including Poggio Bracciolini's *De infelicitate principum*), which he then published as one volume. With this type of (frankly, dishonest) strategy, Nifo ensured that the best of humanist political

⁸ Cf. Toscano, *Letterati, corti, accademie*.

⁹ Cf. Fiorentino, 'Del *Principe* del Machiavelli'.

literature was once again being read in academic circles and that even controversial texts such as Machiavelli's *Principe* were circulated indirectly. Machiavelli's own version of the work was actually reprinted on many occasions after his death, although, very soon after that, the original vernacular version was included in the Index and banned. A clear break from the fifteenth century model – as well as a rare testimony to explicit courtly unease – is found in the short poem *De miseria principum* written in 1522 by Girolamo Angeriano (1470-1535), a Neapolitan intellectual of Apulian origins, who in 1495 left the court and retired permanently to the family estates in Ariano di Puglia.

Another work in the humanist *de principe* tradition was that of the Apulian, Belisario Acquaviva (1464-1528), a contemporary and correspondent of Antonio Galateo: his ethical humanist writings, suffused with a vaguely anti-Spanish feeling, which reflects the southern Italian vassals' continuing feelings of disquiet towards the sovereign, are fully deserving of inclusion in any list of works on the education of princes and may be considered the 'peripheral' contribution to the more celebrated Italian and European writings on the same subject in that period. A peculiarity of Acquaviva was the attention that he dedicated to the nobiliary and feudal aspects of *institutio*, subjects of great relevance in general in the south of Italy, where feudalism had been reintroduced on the brink of the modern age, and of particular relevance to Belisario's brother, Andrea Matteo (1458-1529), translator of Plutarch's *Moralia* and one of the conspirators in the Barons' Plot.

A restless intellectual, an adventurer and a man not easily defined, Scipione di Castro (1521-c.1583) was probably from Policastro, near Salerno. His main political work, which has echoes of Machiavelli and of sixteenth-century writings on the court and on power (Castiglione, Aretino, Botero), is the brief discourse *De' fondamenti dello Stato et instrumenti del regnare*. Reprinted several times during the course of the seventeenth century in the collection *Tesoro politico, cioè relationi, istruzioni, trattati, discorsi varii d'ambasciatori pertinenti alla cognitione et intelligenza delli stati, interessi et dipendenze de' più gran principi del mondo*, this not unimpressive selection of advice for the prince is reminiscent of Carafa's *De regis et boni principis officio* and aroused the curiosity of Giovan Battista della Porta, who wrote out in his own hand a copy that is now kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples.¹⁰ Scipione di Castro also took inspiration from Diomedes Carafa for memorials on appropriate behaviour for courti-

¹⁰ Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III', ms. XX 87. The credit for pointing out the existence of this important manuscript belongs to Giorgio Fulco (*La «meravigliosa» passione*, pp. 296-297).

ers, in which he deals with subjects, including the importance of being able to simulate, that – as will become evident – were much discussed in the south of Italy during those years.

The only connection between the kingdom of Naples and the work of Torquato Tasso (1544-1595) was that the author was born in Sorrento. With his dialogue *Il Malpiglio ovvero de la corte* and his 1578 letter to Giulio Giordani, Tasso established himself as one of the most important voices of sixteenth-century writing, including that of a political slant. In the letter to Giordani in particular, he showed himself to be one a number of intellectuals keen on reopening at court the typically fifteenth-century debate on the ‘monarchy versus republic’ question. Giulio Cesare Capaccio (1560-1631), on the other hand, with his *Segretario* may be considered one of the group of Neapolitan authors who dealt with courtly behaviour and seems to belong to a tradition that, from Castiglione’s *Cortegiano* on, met with great success in Italy. An equally interesting figure was Torquato Accetto (born around 1590 in Trani, died after 1641), a member of the Academy of the *Oziosi*, whose treatise *Della dissimulazione onesta* reintroduced a question which had already interested Poggio Bracciolini, Giovanni Pontano, Antonio Galateo and Niccolò Machiavelli and which had strong political ramifications: namely, could dissimulation, or even simulation, be considered – as they were in Tasso’s *Malpiglio*¹¹ – legitimate? On the subject of simulation, to which Accetto was opposed, Pontano, Bracciolini and Machiavelli – as we know – had expressed opinions that were, at least in part, positive; Bracciolini and Machiavelli gave, and praised, the example of Numa Pompilius’s pretending to have had a nocturnal meeting with the nymph Egeria. Galateo, on the other hand, in his epistle *On Hypocrisy* was unreservedly condemnatory. One last author deserving of inclusion in the ranks of political authors in the kingdom of Naples at the height of the Renaissance is the Leccese, Scipione Ammirato (1531-1601), founder of the Academy of the Transformed. His most relevant writing from the point of view of this study was the *Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito*, an enlightening example of that ambiguous phenomenon – caught between reason of state, Machiavellianism and ecclesiastical orthodoxy – that Tacitism represented in the Counter-Reformation period. In the *Discorsi* Ammirato adopted a position largely in line with Bodin’s: he endeavoured to set juridical limits to the power of the prince and identified reason of state with the natural well-being of the peo-

¹¹ ‘It seems to me that it is as difficult to appear what I am not as to conceal what I am; nevertheless, since through concealment I would conceal many of my defects while through disclosure I would reveal none of my qualities, I would be more inclined to hide than to expose’. (Tasso, *Dialoghi*, p. 174). Cf. also De Mattei, *Dal premachiavellismo all’antimachiavellismo*, pp. 15-24.

ple while at the same time admitting that it could – although only in cases of absolute necessity – supersede the ordinary law.

In the kingdom of Naples, as in all of Catholic Europe, the middle of the sixteenth century saw the emergence of the Tridentine Inquisition, which carried on the work of that obviously already existing Inquisitorial office with which Lorenzo Valla had had to deal in the fifteenth century and which Tristano Caracciolo had described in a famous epistle.¹²

The Neapolitan Inquisition was not one of the more ferocious in Europe, also because local political power had never given way completely to the power of the church. This was consistent with the lay policy and jealous guarding of royal prerogatives that had famously characterised the courts in the south of Italy in the time of the Aragonese – in support of whom in 1440 Valla had written the pamphlet *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione* – and even as far back as the reign of Frederick II of Swabia. A similar situation would arise at the end of the 1830s, when the Bourbon police returned to send an urgent request from the Vatican inquisitors that the manuscript of an ‘irreligious’ work left by the deceased Giacomo Leopardi (the work in question was *Paralipomeni della Batracomiomachia*) be intercepted and prevented from going to print. In Austria, by contrast, the very same request had sparked Metternich’s police into immediate action.¹³ This was not to say, of course, that the Inquisition operated without fervour in the kingdom of Naples, or that it had no influence on the moralistic tone and Counter-Reformation-inspired contents of much of southern Italian literature of the Renaissance and Baroque eras.

As regards relations in Naples between the Inquisition and the intellectual class in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, four names stand out: Bernardino Telesio (1509-1588), Giovan Battista della Porta (1535-1615), Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) and, obviously, Giordano Bruno (1548-1600). Not all of these lived lives that were confined to the kingdom of Naples. Bruno for example embodied the humanist traveller, often enduring the extreme consequences which that entailed – on account of the need constantly to uproot in order to escape persecution. He proved to be an intellectual of authentically European spirit: his experiences were in many ways similar to those of Pier Paolo Vergerio the Younger. However, Bruno’s ties – including his linguistic ties – to his birthplace remained strong, as the colourful and effective use of Parthenopean vernacular in *Candelaio* demonstrates.

¹² *De Inquisitione. Epistola Tristani Caraccioli*, in Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Milano, 1732; repr. Bologna, 1981), vol. XXII, cols. 97-128.

¹³ A. Giuliano, *Giacomo Leopardi e la Restaurazione* (Naples, 1994), pp. 255-301.

The reference to these writers and philosophers who, in their different ways, clashed or found themselves in trouble with the Inquisition might appear peripheral to a treatise on Neapolitan political writing in the humanist and Baroque periods. However, the Inquisition was one of the most recognisable, as well as one of the most feared, faces of political power – political power in this case robed in Curial vestments – in the Renaissance. The existence of censorship which was able to influence cultural expression to the point of sending intellectuals (in Giordano Bruno's case) to the stake, or forcing them (as with Tommaso Campanella) to feign madness in order to escape punishment, is a factor of objective significance which cannot but feature largely in any account of the relationship between writers and politicians. Mention must be made, besides, of the openly political interests displayed by some of those intellectual 'heretics'. The physicist Della Porta, for example, not only included political strands in his tragedies but also, as has been pointed out, displayed a lively interest in the work of Scipione di Castro, who had also been hounded on various occasions by the Inquisitors. There was also a political slant to much of Campanella's writing; he was in fact the author of a collection, *Aforismi politici*. In *Scelta d'alcune poesie filosofiche di Settimontano Squilla* too, there is no shortage of texts dealing openly with political subjects: sonnets XV-XVII, for example, in which the philosopher revives *topoi* that featured regularly in Renaissance political writing, such as the theme *Non è re chi ha regno, ma chi sa reggere*, which is mentioned, for example, in Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Adagia*.¹⁴ As for *La città del Sole*, this book – one of the defining works of European culture – is, along with Thomas More's *Utopia*, one of the most advanced examples of Utopianism, a school of thought which had no less influence than Machiavellian realism on modern political thinking. Moreover, Machiavellian realism should not necessarily be seen as diametrically opposed to utopian writing: firstly because, leaving aside the pragmatism Machiavelli and his imitators championed, it was hard – as Machiavelli himself guessed it would be – to imagine a figure further away from *verità effettuale* than the new prince was; and secondly because in the reality of modern and contemporary politics pragmatism and utopianism have inevitably ended up intertwining or often even knotting inextricably. This did not stop Campanella from being very harshly critical of Machiavellian pragmatism in *Atheismus triumphatus*, where he attacks precisely those pages in which the Florentine

¹⁴ Closely connected to this theme is, for example, the well-known adage *Aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportere*: Erasmus, *Adagia* (ed. Seidel Menchi), pp. 1-27; *idem, Adagiorum chiliarum prima pars prior* (ed. Van Poll-Van de Lisdonk, Mann Phillips and Robinson), pp. 303-314.

secretary, while praising Numa Pompilius's powers of simulation, had defined the essential function of religion as an *instrumentum regni*.¹⁵

Among the reasons why heretical writings fundamental to the history of culture (and not just Italian culture) of the modern age were able to flourish in and around Naples, it is important not to overlook the aforementioned relative lenience displayed by the Inquisition in the (viceroy-ruled) kingdom. It is also worth pointing out the importance of libertine culture for many Neapolitan intellectuals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: amongst these was Giovan Battista Marino (1569-1625), who had the opportunity of direct contact with transalpine libertinism and was the author of an authentically epicurean poem; there was also the Salentine adventurer Giulio Cesare Lucilio Vanini (1585-1619), a contemporary of Marino's. Vanini had also had contact with French libertinism and – as Giordano Bruno had – with Anglican circles. Also connected (even in its name) with one aspect of Epicureanism, namely *otium*, was the most important Neapolitan academy of the seventeenth century, the Academy of the *Oziosi*, in which the tenets of stoicism were not only discussed but frequently espoused.¹⁶ Telesio's work clearly echoed the title of Lucretius's poem and, moreover, Lucretius was a writer whom Giordano Bruno – departing from the usual humanist position of wariness in this matter of referring openly to the author of *De rerum natura* – was very fond of quoting in his works as a means of provocation and of anti-conformist statement.

What was the origin of this widespread interest in Naples in the Philosophy of the Garden, a fascination which was on a par with the (equally remarkable) attention devoted to Epicurus in 'free' Venice? It is worth emphasising that it was an interest with ancient roots. Lucretius's text, which was obviously the main source of information regarding Epicureanism, was circulating widely in the capital of the kingdom from the humanist age on, when Pontano applied his skills of precise philological analysis to *De rerum natura*. Iacopo Sannazaro inherited the great Aragonese humanist's interest, as is evident from various letters and above all from his exact and ambivalent reworking of Lucretius in *De partu Virginis*: Sannazaro was on the one hand critical of a philosophy that was wholly irreconcilable with Christian doctrine, on the other hand he was discreetly approving of an author whom he indisputably admired, especially as a model of style and language. To be precise, the *De partu Virginis* concluded with a Horatian declaration of the author's sense of his own inadequacy in the face of the difficulty and lofti-

¹⁵ Cf. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, I, 11; Campanella, *L'ateismo trionfato*, pp. 126-127.

¹⁶ This is not, however, the contradiction it appears. While we are on the subject, it does not seem inappropriate to compare the experience of the *Oziosi* to the ancient example of Seneca, a 'stoic' philosopher and the author of a *De otio* of explicitly epicurean contents. Cf. Also de Miranda, *Una quiete operosa*.

ness of the Christian-epic theme he had attempted to treat and with the announcement of a return to Mergellina's *ocia* and Posillipo's *dulcis umbra* – where the vague epicurean echo of living hidden from view (*optatum poscit me dulcis ad umbram / Pausilypus*) is skilfully interwoven with a kind of environmental determinism that is concealed in the musicality of the hexameter and hidden underneath the epicurean etymology of the delightful ridge that separates the Gulf of Naples from the Gulf of Pozzuoli (namely, Posillipo: the place where pain ceases). It would not be inappropriate here – although it would be going beyond the confines of this study – to wonder whether, given that Naples had been one of the most active centres of Epicureanism in the ancient world, Lucretius's text was in circulation there even before the humanist age. On this point it is worth remembering that – one generation after Lovato Lovati, who would certainly have had access to Lucretius's work¹⁷ – both Giovanni Boccaccio, who portrayed a garden of pleasures in the *Decameron*, and Francesco Petrarch, whose writings contain various possible allusions to Lucretius, may have read the epicurean philosopher's work.¹⁸ It is well-known that Boccaccio and Petrarch both had significant intellectual experiences in Naples. In any case, there is no doubt that the intellectual climate in Naples, unaffected by the stoic-platonic myth of *vita civilis*, was by its nature compatible with, if not conducive to, a certain disengagement and detachment from politics; or that in epicurean philosophy there was an alternative solution to that of the ethical and Aristotelian humanism put forward by Pontano during the years of Aragonese rule.

One final important element of the relationship between intellectuals and the sovereign in Naples in the modern age was the theatre. Generally speaking, the stage was, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, one of the places where the image of power was most frequently depicted – sometimes critically, but more often simply eulogistically. The drama was most commonly inspired by the dominant themes of the century, first and foremost that of reason of state.

Most Neapolitan plays – performed in nobles' houses, in monasteries and convents, as well as in the royal palace and in the many city theatres – were chosen by the Spanish viceroys (especially in the time of the Count of Monterey, 'a great lover of the theatre', as Benedetto Croce defined him) and often functioned as tributes to the Madrilénian royalty. Theatrical plays, farce for the most part, had already played an important role at the time of the Aragonese court. During the period of viceroy rule too, the great major-

¹⁷ Billanovich, '*Vetera vestigia vatum* in the poems of the pre-humanist Paduans'.

¹⁸ On possible allusions to Lucretius in medieval times, in particular in the works of Petrarch and Boccaccio, see the precious catalogue included in Solaro's *Lucrezio* (pp. 93-122).

ity of theatrical productions were comedies, adaptations of Ariosto and farcical works, which were political only in that they gave expression to an authentically non-political and substantially encomiastic disengagement; the aim was to captivate the public demagogically through the ludic and sometimes coarse aspects of the drama.

Politics, however, which permeated the traditional themes of Renaissance *de principe* literature, was not entirely absent from the Neapolitan stage. Naples was not able to enjoy the great – and hugely successful – baroque political drama of Federico della Valle and Carlo de' Dottori, and there was no anti-Spanish, anti-noble satire like that of Francesco de Lemene in Milan. Nonetheless, there was a rich and fascinating variety of serious or tragic-comic political plays, many of them so far neglected by academics, the noblest example probably being the Neapolitan Carlo Ruggieri's drama, *The Queen of Scotland*. Printed in 1604, this was 'the first tragedy in Italy, and one of the first in Europe, based on the story of Mary Stuart.' The work is seething with Counter-Reformation resentment and 'in spite of taking its subject matter from history, or rather, from contemporary history', 'is to be considered the martyrdom of a saint, or as a spiritual tragedy';¹⁹ it offers further proof of the influence that the Inquisition and Tridentine culture had on literary trends in the modern age.

Another interesting example of seventeenth-century Neapolitan political theatre, dating right from the end of the period under discussion, is the anonymous tragedy *Demetrius*, performed in 1651 by the College of Neapolitan nobles in honour of the viceroy, the Count of Oñate, with a dedication written by the gentleman, Francisco Navarrete: the play is based on the story of Demetrius of Macedonia, who, although innocent, was executed by his father, Philip V, on account of the latter's misplaced trust in his other son, the treacherous Perseus, who would later lead his kingdom to definitive ruin in the fight against Rome. In this unpublished tragedy, then, which survives to us in a manuscript now kept at the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall, attention is focused explicitly on the more traditional themes of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century political literature (not only that of the theatre): the importance for a king, who is portrayed as an absolute monarch (*princeps legibus solutus*), to act with prudence; the limits that need to be set on the praxis of reason of state (the terrible image of the parent condemning the child to death can be traced back to the archetype of the problem of *ratio rei publicae*, namely the story of Agamemnon's sacrifice of

¹⁹ Croce, *I teatri di Napoli*, pp. 67-69; cf. also Cerbo, *Il teatro dell'intelletto*, pp. 197-233.

Iphigenia); the deceitful role of counsellors and of others close to the sovereign.²⁰

In Renaissance and Baroque Naples, then, long before the foundation of the great San Carlo theatre in 1734, after which the capital of the kingdom began to enjoy a cultural life on a par with that of other great Italian and European cities of culture, theatre – performed on a variety of stages, some temporary, some permanent – was by no means second rate, nor was it confined to the comic or popular shows from which, thanks to the ‘*commedia dell’arte*’, the mask of Punchinello would be created. Obscured by the general appearance of decadence with which the age of viceroy rule was inevitably associated, drama of the period has only recently become an object of interest to and a subject of research for academics.

²⁰ On *Demetrius*, cf. Castellaneta, ‘In margine a un manoscritto secentesco’, pp. 77-86.

POLITICS AND THE OCCULT AT THE COURT OF EDWARD IV

Jonathan Hughes

I have in the fire manifold glasses with gold and the mercury. They grow in these glasses in the form of a tree and by a continual circulation the trees are dissolved again with the work into a new mercury – for it makes gold begin to smell and to be swollen, and to putrefy and also to spring forth into sprouts and branches, changing colours daily the appearance of which fascinate me every-day.¹

Throughout the Middle Ages Egypt was regarded as the home of a hermetic philosophy handed down from Hermes Trismegistus (the Egyptian god Thoth). The pyramids of the Nile valley are monumental reminders of the occult powers of the ancient Egyptian pharaohs who were worshipfully identified with the fertility of their lands. Their powers in life and after death were beyond the comprehension of rulers in western Europe. Medieval kings did attempt to trace their ancestry back to the Hebrew kings, David and Solomon, who were specially guided by God. They were also crowned in holy oil, consulted astrologers and sometimes claimed to have special healing powers. However it was not until the late Middle Ages, when the alchemical learning of the Arabs arrived in Western Europe from Moorish Spain, that kings began to seek to augment their power and charisma with these reputedly Egyptian hermetic arts. In the political struggles of fifteenth-century England, which resulted in the triumph of the house of York, the art of alchemy and the revival of indigenous grail myths concerning the welfare of the land and its king played a crucial role. In this period court culture in the form of genealogies, historical narratives, poetry, portraits, and manuals of advice for princes, were profoundly affected by princes' interest in the occult. By this time English kings too would be closely identified with the fertility, health and well being of the land and its people.

¹ Sir Isaac Newton, quoted in Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs, *The Foundations of Newton's Alchemy*, p. 178.

I would like to thank Chantelle Russell for her support and encouragement in researching this subject.

Thomas Norton (c. 1477), alchemist and gentleman of Edward IV's privy chamber, claimed to have devised a furnace

Such as olde men nevir knewe;
Whose secrete powere with studye sowgth.²

As he looked into his 'subtile fornace he fownde many wonders mo'.³ Some of the visions inspired by alchemical meditations on the flames and the metals of the athenor evolved into the prominent symbols of the British nation: the white and red roses of York and Lancaster; the Tudor rose; the English red cross on a white background; and the Welsh red dragon. These familiar national emblems emerged from obscure occult arts to become subjects of broad political discourse during the period of the Wars of the Roses

Medieval kings sought power and authority from a wide range of sources: land, money, warfare, the force of personality, ancestry and the church, and they defined and asserted this power in court ceremonies, coronations, and heraldic and genealogical rolls. But kings were rarely seen in public, and they also depended on a more secret source of power, the forces of the occult.⁴

The occult was defined in this period as the hidden, secret forces in nature, which could be tapped through the practice of alchemy and the related arts of geomancy, astrology and prophetic inspiration. Some English kings who had problems asserting their authority and commanding loyalty turned to men who they believed could help them secure access to these hidden forces. One intangible source of power that kings had recourse to was the holy mysteries monopolised by the church. In return for royal protection, kings benefited from the powers inherent in such rituals as the coronation service, which invested kings with quasi-priestly power, and also inherent in relics, which were invested with supernatural power and were the property of the church and its faithful. This had always been an uneasy alliance, exposed in the conflict between Henry II and his archbishop, Thomas Becket, and the conflict between Henry IV and Archbishop Richard Scrope in 1405. Both of these conflicts resulted in martyrdom and the flourishing of cults at Canterbury and York that at times posed a serious threat to royal authority. Henry III made full use of the powers invested in holy objects: during his kingship Westminster Abbey became a virtual reliquary, containing the holy

² *Thomas Norton's Ordinal*, ed. Reidy, p. 88, ll. 2844-2845.

³ *Ibidem*, l. 2884.

⁴ Much of the following will be dealt with in more detail in my forthcoming book *Hidden Truths and Earthly Powers: English Kings and the Pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone in the Late Middle Ages*, which will be a study of the occult in later medieval England.

blood of Jesus, the stone from which Our Lord ascended into heaven, and the shrine of Edward the Confessor. However, Henry was also the first king to begin the process of disassociating royal authority from the ecclesiastical sphere. He tried to establish the Englishness of his dynasty by separating it from its Norman ancestry and elevating Edward the Confessor's status to that of a national saint. The home of the dynasty was to be Westminster Abbey, which received the transferred Confessor shrine, the focus for a royal mausoleum independent of the English church: the abbey's Benedictine monks owed allegiance to the Pope in Rome not the archbishop of Canterbury. During this same period, this national English saint and the English dynasty began to be identified with occult forces. The newly elected abbot, Richard Bere, was conferred by the Pope at Anagni south of Rome and brought back to Westminster Abbey Cosmati designs that were incorporated in 1268 into the tombs of the Confessor and Henry III and on the pavement of the high altar.⁵ These intricate and interconnected circular motifs were a visualisation of what in the Middle Ages was perceived to be Plato's alchemical vision of the creation: 'He made the universe a circle moving in a circle;' in the centre he created the perfect and self sufficient eternal world soul; and from this he framed the corporeal universe one whole having every part entire.'⁶ In this design even the apparently mutable four elements were shown to rotate, changing from one to another as they impressed their forms on the impressionable but unchanging *prima materia*. Plato's concept of an animate universe and world, so central to the pavement of Westminster abbey and the royal art of alchemy, was also crucial to the conception of the land of Britain as a living organism whose well being depended on the health of its king.

In the middle of this intricate pattern of endless circles were the circular motifs of the *prima materia*, a disc of Egyptian onyx marble veined like the earth, a disc of gold, the most highly evolved of material substances, on which all subsequent kings would be crowned to symbolise their part in this celestial enactment of a divine order. The pavement would be a source of inspiration to alchemists, including Roger Bacon, who wrote an alchemical commentary on the *Secreta secretorum*, which was the advice purportedly given by Aristotle to Alexander on the mysteries of nature, astrology, physiognomy and the philosopher's stone.⁷ Bacon, writing in the period 1250-70, may have identified himself with Aristotle and seen Henry III in the role of Alexander.⁸ An illustrated version of this text was also offered to the

⁵ Foster, *Patterns of Thought*; p. 60, North, *The Ambassador's Secret*, pp. 141-163.

⁶ Plato, *Timaeus* in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato* 32c-34c (ed. Hamilton and Cairns).

⁷ *Secreta secretorum* (ed. Steele) p. 1ff.

⁸ Brehm, 'Roger Bacon's Place', pp. 53-58.

young Edward III, named after the Confessor like his father and grandfather, around the time he seized power from his mother, Isabella, and Roger Mortimer earl of March. The young king is shown consulting his astrologers and alchemists surrounded by such occult seals as Solomon's seal.⁹ The work is described as a sacrament of hidden knowledge, and promises the king a knowledge that will give him unlimited power. Specific advice on politics, statecraft, the choice of counsellors, fiscal management, and military tactics, is provided within the context of a broad understanding of occult knowledge. Edward III is encouraged to identify with Alexander, himself also tutored in the secrets of alchemy, before embarking on his military conquests. Edward's court, the focus of activities on the part of Catalan alchemists, including the author of the *Testamentum*, written for the king between 1329-32, celebrated the possibility that the process of transmutation of metals could also lead to the production of an elixir capable of conferring perfection on its royal patrons.¹⁰ The English monk, John Dastin, produced between 1320 and 1340 a series of Latin writings celebrating the ancient wisdom of the philosophers of the East who revealed things hidden. Dastin addressed kings, promising knowledge of the secret of secrets, which would bring power, victory over enemies, and everything that they aspired to. For Dastin the health and wellbeing of the king was closely related to that of the realm and to the marriage of the red sulphur and white mercury. He equated perfected alchemical gold with the sun and the king, and defined the production of this metal in terms of the sickness of the monarch and his realm, his sacrificial death and resurrection and the consequent regeneration of his land.¹¹ The allegorical treatment of fertility, death and renewal in alchemy was believed to originate with Hermes Trismegistus and the ancient Egyptians.¹² In reality these traditions were emerging under local cultural influences, especially the Grail myths, which enjoyed considerable popularity at Edward III's court, where the order of the Garter was established in 1348. Myths of death and regeneration were becoming increasingly relevant to the political situation of the 1370s, when military defeat, domestic unrest and senility were tarnishing Edward III's golden image.

The personality and motives of his successor, Richard II, who was especially dedicated to the cult of Edward the Confessor and to Westminster Abbey, can be explained in terms of his passion for alchemy and the occult. In 1384 Richard received from the alchemist, John Doubelay, the *Stella Al-*

⁹ London, BL Add MS 47680.

¹⁰ Pereira, *The Alchemical Corpus*. p. 32.

¹¹ For Dastin's *Vision*, see Cambridge, Trinity Coll MS O 2.18; Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, vol. Iii, p. 100ff.

¹² Merkus, 'The Study', pp. 35-45.

chemiae, perhaps to coincide with his marriage to Anne of Bohemia. The central motif of the work, the star of the alchemist, represented the quintessence, the four elements in a state of harmony and balance, and the star guiding the three magi to the infant Jesus. This alludes to Richard's birth on the feast of the Epiphany and his identification with the kings who had occult knowledge.¹³ In 1391 Richard commissioned his own book of divination, with a dedication describing him as 'one who tastes the sweetness of the fruits of subtle sciences for the prudent governance of himself and his people'.¹⁴ In this compendium of occult learning, seen as the key to the control of the kingdom, Richard is helped in his identification with Solomon with tracts on how to understand the hidden meanings of dreams and how to understand through his book of geomancy the hidden forces within the four elements that were taken to define personality and destiny. Much of this was to prove controversial, as the king wove around himself a personal, mystical concept of kingship, dominated by the secret powers of the occult; alchemy instead of bolstering a national military enterprise, was deployed to assert authority and remoteness. In 1396-7, when Richard reasserted his authority over the barons who had humiliated him in 1386-7 and who wished to follow the more aggressive policies of Edward III, he turned to Dastin's alchemical 1328 vision of a pure king who encounters a dragon and dies to redeem his sick kingdom through a rebirth as a golden child. Richard's regeneration was symbolised on a diptych, probably situated in the king's personal altar in Westminster Abbey, depicting a child like king adorned with such alchemical symbols as the white hart and pearls. This portrait celebrated the resurrection of Richard's boyhood. This messianic image, conveyed in Richard's portraits, may have been inspired by alchemical visions of the death and resurrection of Christ; the latter contributed to Richard's grandiose identification with the Last Emperor, the Lamb of Revelations, and even the returned Christ, and suggest that he came to depend on the occult because he believed it bestowed on him special powers. This brought about a gap between the king and his subjects. Richard came to represent those practitioners of the occult who sacrificed scientific understanding of the laws of nature for a belief in their power to manipulate nature and others. Richard was drawn to the secrets of the occult and it determined the formal, aloof and ritualistic tone of his monarchy. The occult therefore became in the minds of Richard's opponents an instrument of his tyranny and was given by some chroniclers as one of the reasons given for his deposition.

¹³ Oxford, Bodley Ashmole MS 1424 fols. 12-14; Ashmole MS 1459, fols. 49-70b.

¹⁴ Bodley MS 581, fols. 1-2.

Despite the interest shown in the occult by Edward III and Richard II, the visions and allegories of the alchemists were never widely disseminated. Dastin and his contemporaries wrote in Latin, and, unlike the teachings of their contemporaries, hermits and recluses like Richard Rolle, their works were never adapted or translated into the vernacular. The explanation may lay in the Lancastrian regime's attitude to Richard II and his involvement in the occult. In 1404 Henry IV legislated against the practice of alchemy. The new regime showed little interest in the Graeco-Egyptian myths and Grail legends that were one of the foundations of English alchemy, and instead fostered the more pragmatic intellectual values of the ancient Romans which would determine the policies of Henry V. The legislation against the practice of alchemy in 1404 was accompanied in the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI by the prosecution of alchemists – such as the conviction of the London apothecary, John Hexham for counterfeiting coin – but individual courtiers and members of the gentry, such as Humphrey duke of Gloucester, who owned the prophecies of Merlin,¹⁵ continued to be drawn to alchemy. Gloucester's involvement in alchemy was viewed with suspicion by the crown: one of the charges brought in 1441 against his wife, Eleanor Cobham, was dabbling in the occult. In 1444 the Catalan *Testamentum* was translated into Latin. In this work the body is conceived as a furnace generating a heat that distils the spirit, the essence of the self that survives death.¹⁶ Distilled alcohol (the quintessence described by John of Rupescissa as a medicine that enabled old men to recover the strength of youth and which possessed the incorruptibility of heaven known by the philosophers of old, and in the fluid of which Humphrey duke of Gloucester chose to be embalmed) also offered such men the opportunity to identify the elixir with this Platonic world of forms. In this sense alchemy remained a secret, gnostic art with close affinities with the hermetic movement in Italy associated with Marsiliano Ficino's translation in 1463 of the *Corpus Hermeticorum*, a group of hermetic texts attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. An important link between the hermetic movement in Italy and alchemy in England was established in the writings and career of George Ripley, a canon of Bridlington who secured permission to leave his convent to travel to Italy. Ripley claimed that he travelled in many lands before he learned the secret of the philosopher's stone, and in his *Cantilena* and *Marrow of Alchemy* he revealed that most of his time was spent in Italy. His time in Italy coincided with Ficino's completion of his translations of *the Corpus Hermeticum*. Under Ripley's influence the figure of Hermes (which would dominate the en-

¹⁵ London, BL Arundel MS 66.

¹⁶ *Il Testamentum Alcemico Attributo A Raimundo Lullo* (ed. Pereira and Spaggiari) p. 152; Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 244, fols. 1-240.

trance to the nave of Siena Cathedral from around 1481) and the alchemical traditions he represented, were popularised to the extent that the image of Hermes appears at the head of a scroll known as *The Ripley Scroll*, which illustrates the stages of alchemical transformation, and first appeared around 1461.¹⁷ The sources of Ripley's pseudo-Egyptian myths of the death and rebirth of kings were in reality the Catalan *Testamentum*; John Dastin's visions; and the Arthurian Grail myths, which were again becoming increasingly relevant during another period of royal incapacity, civil unrest and military humiliation.

In the fourteenth century alchemists were obscure monks. Ripley would become as crucial a figure in the fifteenth century as Richard Rolle had been in the previous century because turned from the use of Latin, employed in such works as the *Cantilena*, to the vernacular as a medium for alchemical discourse. This coincides with the emergence at the court and in the universities of such politically and intellectually prominent alchemists as Gilbert Kymer, physician to Humphrey duke of Gloucester, John Cokkes, lecturer in medicine at Oxford, and Robert Marshall, a fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. It was the insanity of the last Lancastrian king, Henry VI, which brought alchemists into the mainstream of political life for the first time. In 1456 the leading alchemists of the kingdom were commissioned to use their science and the wisdom of the ancients to find a cure for the malaise of the king and his kingdom. Baconian concepts of humoral balance achieved with the help of classical philosophy, alchemical fertility myths and allegories of the regeneration of kings, and the invigorating qualities of *aqua vitae*, all acquired national significance.¹⁸ This sudden rise in the prestige of the alchemist and all branches of his art coincided with the first appearance of alchemical texts in the vernacular. Before his death in c. 1450, John Lydgate was working on an English version of the *Secreta secretorum*, and it was around this time that English versions were produced of Rupescissa's *De consideratione quintae essentiae* and anonymous English copies of alchemical recipes.¹⁹

Henry VI was born at Windsor, the birthplace of Edward III, who was the boar of Windsor in the Bridlington prophecies, and the king, according to these prophecies, whose sinless successor would be the great apocalyptic crusading second Arthur. John Whethamstead, described in the sixteenth century as one of Britain's leading alchemists, and the abbot of St Alban's Abbey, scene of Henry VI's periodic retreats, gave some thought to Henry VI's prophetic destiny and the alchemical transmutation of the ailing king.

¹⁷ Bodley Roll 1.

¹⁸ For further detail see Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy*, pp. 49-72.

¹⁹ For the English version of Rupescissa's *De quintae essentiae* see BL Sloane MS 353.

In a manuscript containing a genealogy of the kings of Britain, emphasising the line of Brutus and giving prominence to King Arthur, Whethamstead provides an account of the martyrdom of St Alban, a high-born Briton of Trojan ancestry, employing the familiar alchemical language of the vanquishing of the dragon with the application of gold and the red blood and white sweat of Christ, (sulphur and mercury), which he describes as a distilled medicine and a celestial quintessence which can restore the welfare of the people.²⁰ Adam Davy, a London cleric, had tried to use the same alchemical metaphors to instil courage and sense of destiny in a similarly inept king: Davy dreamt that Edward II, standing on the Cosmati pavement, ‘received blows from two knights, after which red and white light issues from Edward’s ears reaching out across his kingdom’.²¹

Another who focused directly on the regeneration of the sick king was George Ripley. Against a background of arguments about Henry VI’s lack of virility, the *Ripley Scroll* c. 1460 celebrates potency and procreation. Images of the purging fire of cholera, fighting lions, and an ascendant sun, reflect attempts to reverse the feminine, phlegmatic condition of Henry VI with fiery humours.²² In the *Cantilena*, the earliest copies of which date from the 1470s, Ripley focuses on a sick and barren king: *There was a certain Barren king by birth – yet he sadly bewailed his Authoritie*.²³ This enfeebled king is senile and must, like diseased metal, be immersed in a bath of acid in order to undergo a death and rebirth:

While from her bed the Ruddy Sun doth spring
To grasp the joyful sceptre of a king.²⁴

However, after Henry VI was wounded at the First Battle of St Albans it became increasingly clear that Henry, unlike the Fisher King, would never be healed. Moreover, to many members of the governing class Henry’s weakness was exacerbated by his piety, and it is at this point that an alternative, occult source of power and authority, removed from traditional ecclesiastical power structures, was sought in the figure of Merlin. The latter was

²⁰ BL Cotton Claudius EIV, fol. 20ff.

²¹ *Adam Davy’s Dreams* (ed. Furnivall) pp. 11-17; Coote, *Prophecy and Public Affairs*, pp. 84-91.

²² Bodley Roll 1.

²³ The original is in Latin see Bodley Ashmole 1394. BL Sloane 3747; For an illustrated version see BL Add MS 11388 fos 33^v-35^r; a printed edition is in *Opera omnia chemica* (Cassel, 1648). A sixteenth-century translation appears in Bodley Ashmole MS 1445. It was first published by F. Sherwood Taylor in *Ambix* 11, 1946 nos 3 and 4.

²⁴ *Cantilena*, ll. 18-19.

born of a virgin, and his father was reputedly the devil. In Robert de Borron's *Estoire de Merlin*, written in the 1190s, and incorporated in the Vulgate cycle c. 1215-35, Merlin decides to reveal some of his deepest secrets to King Uther Pendragon:

You must understand sire that I have knowledge of all things both word and deed inherited from the enemy. But Our Lord omnipotent gave me knowledge of things to come – now you know the source of my power.²⁵

Merlin was therefore regarded as a prophet with an understanding of history, and this, together with his command of the forces of nature, made him into a formidable ally of kings who could determine national destiny. Merlin's special knowledge, allowing him mastery of all these skills, was the science of alchemy. There is a tradition that this science reached Dark Age Britain when the Arab physician, Rhases, took Merlin as his disciple. The instructions imparted from Rhases to his son and heir in an alchemical sense, Merlin, were recorded in a work known as *Liber Merlin*, which survives in many fifteenth-century manuscripts.²⁶ Another work of alchemy the *Gemma salutaris* or *Laudabile sanctum*, sometimes attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, was in most late medieval copies attributed to Merlin.²⁷

Merlin is an important figure in the prose *Brut*, composed around 1400, and the magician's coming to prominence in the mid fifteenth century during the period of crisis posed by Henry VI's insanity is signalled by the appearance of English translations of Robert de Borron's account of the life of Merlin, which 'had first appeared in the vulgate cycle between 1205 and 1235. In 1450 Henry Lovelich, a London skinner, translated his verse adaptation,²⁸ and in 1460 a prose Merlin appeared.²⁹ These were followed in 1471 by Sir Thomas Malory's vernacular epic, *Morte d'Arthur*, the first part of which was entitled *The Book of Merlin*. In 1477 Thomas Norton referred to Merlin as an alchemical authority and advised his patron, Edward IV, to search for knowledge of the secret science of alchemy among solitaries, as

²⁵ Robert de Borron's verse Grail cycle – containing Joseph d'Arimatea, Merlin and Perceval – was soon written in prose. I cite the fifteenth-century English prose version (*Merlin: A Prose Version*, ed. Wheatley). See also *Merlin and the Grail* (transl. Bryant).

²⁶ Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1127 and MS 1400; BL Add MS 10764; BL Sloane MS 1091 Bodley Ashmole MS 1416; Singer, *Catalogue*, item 796.

²⁷ BL Sloane MS 323; Cambridge Trinity College MS 1122 and 112; Bodley Ashmole 1384; Trinity College Cambridge MS 1363; BL Harley 2407 fols. 36-48; BL Sloane 1091; Bodley Ashmole MS 1448; Singer *Catalogue*, items 793 and 973.

²⁸ Lovelich: *The History of the Holy Grail*.

²⁹ *Merlin a Prose Version* (ed. Wheatley), vols I-IV.

'King Kalide did til he mett with Morien'.³⁰ By the sixteenth century Merlin's reputation was such that in a list of British alchemists in *The Looking Glass for Illiterate Alchymists* he is described as the founder of British alchemy.³¹ In Robert de Borron's *Book of Merlin* he is identified with the forces of nature, and by the fifteenth century he came to represent for alchemists a more scientific outlook, whereby the forbidden knowledge that had been the devil's gift to his son became the source of fascination for kings. Merlin was himself identified with the alchemical process. His unnatural conception linked him with the artificially created homunculus. Merlin was seen to be an unpredictable and powerful agent in the birth of Britain, like the volatile substance, mercury, in the gestation of the philosopher's stone. Like mercury, he was an elusive shape shifter, an amoral reconciler of opposites, including good and evil; the latter is eventually imprisoned like mercury in matter, either glass or a rock, a symbol of trapped energy.

That Merlin's name was evoked in attempts to cure Henry VI and combat the French threat can be seen in surviving fifteenth-century manuscripts containing an allegory of Merlin. A king prepares to conquer a mighty people and drinks special water that leaves him discoloured. He is brought to a chamber and his relatives wish to bury him; his physicians, however, insist on drying and grinding him into a powder. They then heat him in a crucible and bring him back to life, whereupon he cries: 'where are my enemies?'³² However Merlin's name was primarily associated with attempts to find a new monarch who would be a second Arthur. Merlin's greatest alchemical feat of conjunction was to bring together Uther Pendragon and Iwain to beget King Arthur, under whom Britain attained its identity. Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia Regum Britannicum* described how Merlin witnessed the failed attempts of Vortigern to build a tower on Mount Snowdon to resist the advancing Saxons. The castle was being continually swallowed by the ground and Merlin pointed out that there was a pool underneath the foundations in which two dragons were sleeping. Merlin ordered the pool to be drained and the red and white dragons started fighting. He then exposed the warring red and white dragons that subverted the foundations of the tower. He then delivered a prophecy that would reverberate through to the fifteenth century. According to Merlin, the red and white dragons represented the struggle between the Celtic Britons and the invading Saxons; he prophesied the defeat of the red dragon by the white, the Saxon conquest of

³⁰ *Thomas Norton's Ordinal*, ed. Reidy, p. 46, l.1434.

³¹ BL Sloane MS 2218.

³² For fifteenth-century manuscripts see Bibl. nat. de France, MS Lat 14005; For a later copy, see BL Sloane 3506, fols. 74-75.

Britain and the eventual triumph of the red dragon. Geoffrey of Monmouth records another prophecy, delivered by an angel to the fleeing King Cadwallader, concerning the salvation of Britain with the return of a British king. By the fifteenth century Merlin had become the alchemist and prophet who had supervised and orchestrated the birth of Great Britain under Arthur and who, with his unparalleled knowledge of the past and the future, held the key to the redemption of Great Britain from the foreign invaders under a second Arthur, a Welsh king. This was conceived in terms of an alchemical drama of conflict between the two dragons, red sulphur and white mercury. The point was reinforced in the alchemical texts attributed to Merlin in the fifteenth century, which describe the reconciliation of these two fighting opposites. *Laudum sanctibile* describes an alchemical experiment concluded when:

The white woman lieth then is wedded to the red man
A knitteth so that two become one.

The end result of the experiment is an evolution from white and red to gold, achieved when 'a rose colour shall shine'. In *The Book of Merlin* Rhases informs his disciple 'In contrary things accord will be', and teaches him how to achieve an end that will 'make many men thy friend'. This will occur when the white and red are brought to conjunction, resulting in the transmutation of the white work, which will shine clear as crystal and like gold.³³ These verses of Merlin were cited by a monk of Bermondsey in his *Thesaurum mundi* in 1432.

Merlin was therefore a powerful archetype in the fifteenth century, a man of science with an understanding of history who sees a way to use conflict, civil war and foreign defeats to bring about the birth of the philosopher's stone, the nation. This was symbolised by the Round Table. In the Cistercian *Queste del Saint Graal*, part of the Vulgate cycle composed by Cistercian monks between 1215 and 1235, an anchoress instructs Perceval that the Round Table

was devised by Merlin to embody a very subtle meaning, for in its name it mirrors the roundness of the earth, the concentric sphere of the planets and of the elements in the firmament: and in those heavenly spheres we see the stars and many things besides whence it follows that the Round Table is a fine epitome of the universe.

³³ BL Add MS 15549, fol. 161 – not to be confused with Robert de Borron's *Book of Merlin*.

This spherical symbol of the providential wisdom and order in the universe that would ultimately be manifested in the destiny of the nation occurs in the Cosmati design of Westminster Abbey. This was the concourse used by alchemists competing for clients, and among them there would have been those who saw themselves as followers of Merlin and who would use occult wisdom to bring to the gold sphere on the nave of the abbey a new king who would be an Arthur to a divided and humiliated nation. The group of alchemists would have included: Robert Barker, who, in 1456, dedicated an alchemical treatise to Edward, earl of March;³⁴ Gilbert Kymer, physician to Humphrey duke of Gloucester and Henry VI; George Neville, described as one of the kingdom's leading alchemists in the sixteenth century and a close friend of George Ripley; and Thomas Norton, an alchemist in the royal household in the 1460s. But the man who most comfortably fitted the role of Merlin, the maker and breaker of kings, and consciously played it was George Ripley, described by Rabbard in his 1591 edition of *The Compound of Alchemy* as 'our nation's philosopher'. Ripley, an English magus following the example of Roger Bacon, controlling the forces of nature and unlocking their secret powers, spent much time in Westminster Abbey meditating on the significance of the Cosmati pavement. According to the Elizabethan alchemist, Thomas Charnock, he would walk around the abbey, haunted by philosophers and go with them to the tavern to learn their ways. The neoplatonic images of spheres on the pavement would form the basis of his alchemy and influence his conception of the turning of the wheel of the elements in which one element circulated into another to form the quintessence. This image of the wheel of the elements became so identified with Ripley that a number of diagrams survive showing what became known as Ripley's wheel. One, the frontispiece to Rabbard's edition of *The Compound of Alchemy*, bears a close resemblance to the images on the Cosmati pavement. Ripley's account of the beginning of the alchemical work – with the emergence of the four elements from a single *massa confusa*, and his allusions to the six days of creation – reveals the influence of his meditations on the Westminster pavement:

In the beginning when thou mad'st all of nought,
 A globous matter darke under confusion,
 By him the beginning marveilously was wrought
 Conteyning naturally all things without division;
 Of which in six dayes he made cleere distinction:
 As Genesis apertly doth record.³⁵

³⁴ BL Stowe MS 11070, fols. 26-32.

³⁵ *George Ripley's Compound* (ed. Linden), p. 6.

Ripley, like Merlin, occupied a post at court close to kings, yet he also resembled Merlin (who proclaimed in Robert de Borron's *Book of Merlin* 'I sometimes need to be away from people') in his love of solitude, and he eventually left his order to become an anchorite at the Carmelite priory of St Botolph's near Boston. Ripley interpreted his alchemical visions and experiments with sulphur and mercury in terms of Merlin's original vision and described a vision experienced while contemplating the fires of his furnace: 'It makes white and makes black, it burneth and maketh cold, it beginneth and performeth, here are two dragons fighting together in the flood of Galatea, that is to say the white stone and the red stone'. He too was a mercurial figure and had the symbol of mercury placed around his tomb. Ripley was also a shaman-like visionary. He described one dream which resembles the allegory of Merlin, in which he consigned the bloated corpse of a toad to the fire to produce an elixir of great potency, possibly a hallucinogenic drug. For him too, alchemy and politics were closely related, and he was preoccupied with the renewal of both gold and the kingship: in another parallel to the allegory of Merlin he recorded recipes for the production of gold, which involved the grinding down of gold nobles containing images of the king.³⁶ Like Merlin, Ripley came to realise that the land could only be renewed with a new king, who would represent the triumphant red dragon of prophecy and who would reconcile the warring elements and end the perpetual conflict of the red and white. The key motif of his alchemical works, was the marriage of the red and white dragons to produce the philosopher's stone; and the image he used to represent the conclusion of the alchemical work in the *Twelve Gates of Alchemy*, the safe return of a ship, is taken from Rhases's *Book of Merlin*: 'He is but one that shall mend all./ The ship is brought into safe harbour/ A good shipman thou art knowe'.³⁷ Ripley's identification with this ancient duty handed down from Merlin is suggested in the images of fighting dragons around his tomb. The prophecies and visions of Merlin incorporated into the Yorkist genealogical rolls, the alchemical works attributed to Merlin, the sermon probably delivered by George Neville on Edward's entry into London, and the alchemical writings of Ripley presented the governing class with the opportunity to see the erosion of the Lancastrian kinship and the political disputes of the 1450s as merely the last in a long series of alchemical conflicts going back to the death of Arthur and the invasions of the Saxons and Normans. The failed Lancastrian dynasty was equated with the white dragon, the Saxons, the last in a series of foreign invaders; for its part, the nation was about to be born

³⁶ Bodley Rawl MS poet 121, fol. 77; BL Sloane MS 3580B, fols. 173^v-175; Bodley Ashmole MS 1426.

³⁷ BL Add MS 15549, fol. 161.

again like the philosopher's stone, with the emergence of a second Arthur of ancient Welsh stock going back to the line of Uther Pendragon. Ripley and Neville worked behind the scenes – like Merlin – to replace Henry VI with the young earl of March, a Mortimer through his mother's line, who could claim descent from the last King of Britain, Cadwallader. Both the Yorkist genealogy containing prophecies on British history and Edward's accession sermon provide the date of March 1460/1461 as the time when the prophecies of Merlin and the Angel were fulfilled. The arrival of Edward IV signified the triumph of the red dragon and the return of the name of Great Britain to this island.³⁸

At the age of fifteen Edward earl of March acquired a copy of *the Secreta secretorum* with alchemical notes by Roger Bacon.³⁹ From this text he would have acquired a sense that the well-being of the land depended on a king identified with the life-giving power of the sun, which would dispel the damp mists of England's winter king (Henry VI was born in December under the influence of the phlegmatic, feminine moon). The change of dynasty which England craved would be heralded, according to Bacon, by the appearance of a parhelion – or three suns in the sky. The king who would redeem the land would embody the quintessence: he would be in perfect health with all four humours in perfect balance. By the time he was eighteen and making his bid for the throne Edward fulfilled these expectations. He was six feet four, handsome and charismatic. His birth in springtime in the house of Taurus identified him with the rising sun that would dispel the winter mists of Henry VI's wasteland. A prophecy concerning one Taurus was written in Ripley's monastery in Bridlington in the fourteenth century by the saintly prior John Thweng:

Taurus was brave without fear of death –
 Taurus was always green as the laurel
 Fertile and plenteous never destitute –
 He conquered his enemy, triumphed over kings⁴⁰

These lines were originally applied to Edward III in a commentary written by the alchemist friar, John Erghome, and were reapplied to Edward of March. Edward's victory over Jasper Tudor at the Battle of Mortimer's Cross in February 1461 marked the beginning of a very public and overtly political use of alchemical thought and imagery to bolster the claims of the

³⁸ See Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy*, chapt. 5 for more detail.

³⁹ BL Royal MS 12 Ex V. The inscription 'this book is owned by Edward earl of March son of Richard duke of York' is on fol. 2b.

⁴⁰ John Erghome's Commentary on the Prophecy of John of Bridlington, in *Political Poems and Songs* (ed. Wright), p. 139.

Yorkist dynasty. A parhelion was observed in the sky on the morning of the battle and Edward adopted the motif of three suns – one of King Arthur's badges – as his personal badge.

In a more general sense Edward identified himself with the sun's life giving and regenerative powers. For Thomas Norton, who, according to Thomas Charnock, sought Edward's patronage once he had secured control of the kingdom, there were obvious parallels between the evolution of metals into gold and the coming to fruition of the sun of York:

Remembre how in euery mixte thinge,
Euermore oon element desirith to be kinge.⁴¹

Edward adopted the sun in ascendancy as his badge and used Sol as his cognomen. The alchemical writings of Norton and Ripley written in the 1470s are dominated by retrospective reflections on the parallels between the association of the sun with alchemical transmutation and the regeneration of kingship under the son of March. In the earliest surviving manuscript of Norton's *Ordinal of Alchemy* written c. 1490 (and probably a copy of the original manuscript executed in the reign of Edward IV and possibly presented to the king) a miniature divides the zodiac into twelve houses at the crucial moment of the beginning of the alchemical work; Norton and his patron, the king are shown in the middle.⁴² The key to understanding this miniature is in a manuscript containing works of astrology, the prophecies of Merlin and geomancy which was owned by Humphrey duke of Gloucester and by Henry VII. A miniature in this volume explains the significance of these zodiac houses. They are numbered in anti-clockwise fashion (the first represents the nigredo) as they go under the horizon, where the houses associated with hidden wealth and buried treasure are to be found, and emerge above the horizon like the sun.⁴³ The stone is elevated in the tenth and eleventh houses and in these houses in the miniature in the *Ordinal of Alchemy* there occur images representing the regeneration of kingship under Edward IV: the sun in ascendancy and Libra (the scales) associated with hope, fortune and Christ's resurrection. George Ripley began his *Twelve Gates of Alchemy* by invoking 'Our Exalter', and praising the incomparable glorious majesty of the sun whose luminous beam draws out corrupt damp humours and purifies and exalts souls.⁴⁴ This striking solar imagery reflects the optimistic mood when Edward burst onto the political stage. Ripley, re-

⁴¹ *Thomas Norton's Ordinal*, ed. Reidy, p. 60, ll. 1892-1893.

⁴² BL Add MS 10,302, fol. 67^v.

⁴³ BL Arundel MS 66, fol. 286.

⁴⁴ Ripley, *Compound of Alchymy* (ed. Linden), p. 21.

flecting on the relationship between the movement of the sun and his alchemical experiments, directly alluded to Edward's triumph. A recurring image in his writings is the wheel of the elements. As one element turns under the heat of the athenor, like the wheel of fortune in the furnace of history, one element is converted into another to create the stone 'of great delight' (a possible allusion to Edward's motto 'comfort and joy'). The crucial motif is the journeying of the sun through the sky, which mirrors Edward's triumphant marches from Wales to London. The precious stone begins in the West, where the red man and white woman are made one (symbolising the union of the white and red dragons, the conjunction of the warring Celtic and Saxon elements joined in Edward's lineage). Ripley's subsequent description of the sun's exaltation bears a close similarity to the poetry of this period celebrating Edward's ascension:

There is the uprising of the Sunne appearing by day-light,
 There is the uprising of the Sunne appearing bright,
 There is Summer after Vere, and day after night:
 Then earth and water which wer black, be turned into aire,
 And clouds of darkness overblown, and all apareth faire.⁴⁵

This summer sun disports with daylight for then 'thy work shall become perfect white'. All these images of the playful and ascendant sun and the white stone allude Edward's badges – the sun in splendour and the white rose – which also occur in the poetry of the period. *The Ripley Scroll* is dominated by an image of the sun bursting through the clouds, presaging the birth of a globe beneath the wings of a crowned falcon (the Yorkist badge) to suggest that the philosopher's stone, a new nation, has emerged from the filth and ashes of war.⁴⁶

Alchemical imagery was also deployed in a more overtly political way on public scrolls to gather support for the new king. The emergence of these formerly occult symbols into the mainstream of political life is demonstrated in an illustrated roll showing the trials and triumphs of Edward on his way to victory over his enemies at Mortimer's Cross and his successful march into London. Images showing Edward's flight to Calais in 1459, his victories at the battles of Northampton and Mortimer's Cross, and his triumphant entry into London, are accompanied by illustrations of the Angel who appeared to Cadwallader, the three suns, and of such alchemical motifs as Moses's vision of the three faces of God in the burning bush, the sun in ascendancy accompanied by the cognomen Sol, and the conjunction of Sun

⁴⁵ Ripley, *Compound of Alchymy* (ed. Linden), p. 82.

⁴⁶ Bodley Roll 1.

and Moon.⁴⁷ Edward's entry into London was accompanied by sermons delivered by the chancellor, George Neville.⁴⁸ If Ripley was the charismatic shaman, the Merlin behind the accession of Edward, Neville was the political brains. His sermons allude to the prophecies of Merlin and the angel to Cadwallader, claiming that the British line, which perished with Cadwallader's exile in 689, was restored with the arrival of Edward the king prophesied by Merlin and others.⁴⁹ It was probably under the encouragement of Ripley and Neville that Edward adopted the alchemical cognomens of red dragon, white rose and Sol, and his opponent Henry VI was given the alchemically opposite cognomens of Lupus, antimony and white dragon. The prophecies of Merlin and the angel were copied and disseminated in tracts containing chronicles and genealogies showing the evolution of the British royal line from Brutus to Arthur, its extinction under the Saxons, and eventual triumph under Edward IV.⁵⁰

The coronation itself, probably masterminded by Neville and Ripley, was an opportunity to display alchemical symbolism celebrating the ascendancy of the Yorkist sun. Edward's coronation on the central gold disc of the Cosmati pavement was the fulfilment of the great design of God the divine alchemist. Ripley and his fellow adepts did more than meditate on the pavement and the chemistry behind the turning of the wheel of elements to produce gold: they focused on the politics and history. Within their heated glasses they watched gold and mercury grow, 'within his glass he made it grow upright/ With flowers discoloured beautiful to sight'. For Ripley these elements swell and disintegrate, before sprouting branches taking the form of trees of many colours – the tree of Hermes illustrated in the *Ripley Scrolls*. For such scholars the genealogical trees produced by the house of York had sprung from the *massa confusa*, the ashes of war, to justify the deposition of Henry VI. They were alchemical testimonies to the working of God's providence through history and the eventual triumph of the family tree of the rulers of ancient Britain in the furnace of history. These rolls bear the imprint of politicians like George Neville who were also alchemists. They begin with images of the *prima materia* and concentric circles like the Cosmati pavement to show the unfolding of the divine will, before tracing Edward's descent from Brutus and Cadwallader. They are accompanied by Edward's cognomens Arthur, Cadwallader, Brutus and the alchemical cognomens red dragon and Sol, and also by Henry VI's cognomens of lupus,

⁴⁷ BL Harl MS 7353.

⁴⁸ BL Cotton Vesp E VII fols. 71-71^v.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁰ London, College of Arms MS 20/20 BL, Add MS 18268 A; Philadelphia, Free Library MS 201; Hughes *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy*, pp. 117-157.

antimony and white dragon.⁵¹ The roll specifically executed to celebrate the coronation, begins with an image of God in a golden sun. The splitting apart of England into seven kingdoms in the Dark Ages is shown with an image of concentric wheels through which the sun passes to herald the eventual reintegration of these scattered parts into a golden whole. A golden chain illustrates Edward's descent, culminating in a golden squared circle with the sun in splendour. Alongside the tree are alchemical images of the *uroboros* (the serpent devouring its tail representing the beginning and end of the great work), the sun, and the peacock's tail (representing the approach of the climax of the work), and the arms of Arthur and Mortimer.⁵² The theme of the roll is the forging of the true and trusted gold of Edward's crown in the furnace of history.

In the early years of his reign Edward attempted to live up to the high expectations aroused by Neville and Ripley. The order of the Garter was replenished with chivalric knights instrumental in the defeat of the Lancastrians, and jousting was revived. Sir Thomas Malory reflected the excitement at Edward's recreation of Camelot in the early 1460s, and the important role played by alchemists – like Ripley and Neville – when he depicted the formation of the Round Table, in 1470. The opening of his *Morte d'Arthur*, the book of Merlin, shows how Merlin's science and magic is the controlling force at Arthur's court until the magician is trapped in a rock, like the trapped energy of the alchemists. Malory, like the chronicler Hardyng, also captures the sense that England (or Logres) is a holy place in which Arthur and his knights are dedicated to a quest for the Grail, which like the philosopher's stone is an elusive, mysterious numinously holy object. The knight who eventually discovers the Grail, Sir Galahad, wears the red and white colours of alchemy.⁵³ Malory, writing in Newgate prison, was in a position to observe the heady enthusiasm shown by alchemists for such quests. Ripley, writing in 1471, observed that some alchemists, 'who work after their fantasie' deluded by visions of the Holy Cross and the conquest of France, ended up in Newgate for obtaining money on false pretences.⁵⁴ For Malory, and indeed for many alchemists of this period such as George Neville and Sir John Langstrother, the prior of the knights of St John, of the Cross, the culmination of Edward's triumph would be a crusade. Malory evokes the sense that England had emerged from military humiliation and civil war with a sense that its identity as a land of destiny had returned. The vale of Avalon had been the scene of a great alchemical drama in Britain's

⁵¹ College of Arms MS 20/6; College of Arms MS 9/9 Bodley Ashmole Roll 26.

⁵² Philadelphia, Free Library MS 201.

⁵³ *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory* (ed. Winaver and Field), vol 1, p.52.

⁵⁴ Ripley, *Compound of Alchymy* (ed. Linden) pp. 50, 52.

distant past, the significance of which was about to be realised with the birth of the nation. By the end of the fourteenth century Glastonbury legends from Robert de Borron's *Joseph of Arimathea*, and from the *Merlin* and the *Estoire de Saint Graal* had been incorporated into John of Glastonbury's revised history of that famous abbey. These included claims that the Saviour himself had walked in the vale of Avalon, that Joseph of Arimathea had brought Christ's red blood and white sweat in vials, and that the devil's child (Merlin), escaping the attempts of Vortigern to have him killed – in a parody of the Gospel story of the Massacre of the Innocents – had also arrived in Britain. At the Council of Constance (1417) the English delegates pressed England's claim to be the most ancient Christian nation in Europe and at the Council of Siena (1424) they referred to the exhumation of what was purported to be the body of Joseph in 1419.⁵⁵ The importance of Glastonbury in the conclusion of this great alchemical drama, the reconciliation of the opposites of red and white, is shown by the incorporation of an image of the Grail and the unfolding drama of the birth of the nation in the window of the parish church of St John in Glastonbury. During the rebuilding of the church by abbot John Shirwood, a heraldic window was inserted showing the coat of arms of Joseph of Arimathea formed from the vials containing the red and white blood and sweat of Christ, the spear of Longinus, the hawthorn tree sprouted from Joseph's staff, and the golden dew of heaven. The vale of Avalon became a site of pilgrimage in this period. Among the relics were the following: Arthur's tomb in Glastonbury abbey (an illustration in a fifteenth-century copy of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* shows it to be a marble top, on which Edward seems to have modelled his tomb in St George's chapel, Windsor, in 1475); Joseph of Arimathea's wattle church on Glastonbury Tor; and the Glastonbury red and white springs twenty miles from Norton's home in Bristol. A tradition developed that a tenth-century abbot of the abbey, St Dunstable, had practised alchemy and discovered the philosopher's stone. Treatises on the philosopher's stone were attributed to him, and in the sixteenth century John Dee claimed to have discovered St Dunstan's red powder in a wall of the ruined abbey.⁵⁶ By 1471 the area had become so popular because of its Arthurian and alchemical associations that a pilgrim's inn, named after St George, was built by John Shirwood, and which bore the arms of Edward IV, including the sun in splendour.

⁵⁵ *John of Glastonbury's Chronicle* (ed. Curley), pp.28-30; Curley, 'Merlin the Bard', pp. 12-32.

⁵⁶ For the treatise on the philosopher's stone attributed to St Dunstan see BL Sloane MS 1744, fol. 201.

One of the younger alchemists to emerge in these years was Thomas Norton, a member of Edward IV's Privy chamber, and, according to his great grandson Samuel, several times an ambassador for the king. In 1477 Norton wistfully reminisced in his *Ordinal of Alchemy* about the period between 1464-5 as golden age of alchemy and patriotic idealism.⁵⁷ In September 1464 Edward gave William Lord Hastings and goldsmith Hugh Bryce an indenture to produce a new coinage.⁵⁸ In this, too, alchemists were involved. John Delves, who brought the Gloucester alchemist Thomas Dalton to Edward's court, was appointed warden of the royal mint in 1471, and George Neville, as archbishop of York, had his own mints in York, Durham and London. Ripley was directly involved in alchemical experiments, which involved the melting down of bullion, and it is possible that the distinctive visions that appeared in his writings and on the scrolls may have been inspired by the process of breathing in fumes and looking intently at the changes of the king's image in his glass alembic and vessels. In his sixty-third year Ripley gave George Neville a recipe, in which he recommended taking an old Edward noble of fine quality gold, rinsing it with mercury, and grinding the two substances together on stone with vinegar and salt before washing and placing them in bath and boiling them over a fire for a day and night. The dissolved solution is then strained through a linen cloth and the retained gold reduced to a dry powder. The matter is then multiplied with mercury in the fire and gold as fine as the gold of the noble is taken out of the furnace.⁵⁹ Such experiments with the melting of the king's image, the symbolic death of the king, his amalgam with mercury identified with Melusine the serpent woman because both are unpredictable and protean. Melusine and the redemption of gold symbolised by the king's rebirth would have a powerful influence on Ripley's vivid myths of death, disintegration and resurrection. The alchemical symbols on the *Ripley Scrolls* and genealogical rolls, partly inspired by Ripley's experiments with the coinage, directly influenced the symbols produced on the new coinage. According to a diarist writing in the seventeenth century the gold nobles of this period bore the inscription 'As Jesus passed invisible in a most secret manner by the midst of the pharisees' – a quotation that occurs on Edward's Coronation Roll to signify the secret working of majestic gold.⁶⁰ In 1462, on pennies

⁵⁷ *Thomas Norton's Ordinal*, ed. Reidy, p. 45.

⁵⁸ Calendar Patent Rolls Edward IV 1467-77, p. 425 CPR Edward IV-Henry VI 1461-71, pp. 147, 482, 546, 551, 556, 586; Reddaway, 'The King's Mint'; Oman, 'The Coinages', pp. 16-17; Blunt and Whithorn, 'The Coinages of Edward IV and Henry VI', p. 7.

⁵⁹ Bodley MS Rawl poet 121, fol. 77; BL Sloane MS 3580 B, fols. 173^v-175; Bodley Ashmole MS 1426.

⁶⁰ Philadelphia, Free MS 121.

minted at Neville's archiepiscopal mints at York, Durham and London there appeared the white Yorkist rose with a cross and the sun rising. On the new ryall, the highest of the denominations of the new coins minted in 1464, a large letter E was placed on the stern of the ship of state and a Yorkist rose placed on the hull. On the reverse side of this coin the device of the fleur-de-lys gave way to the sun in splendour with a rose at its centre. The basic currency of Edward's reign was the new angel. This coin bore the most significant changes testifying to the impact of Ripley's symbolic art. On one side of the coin there is the ship of state. On either side of the mast, formed by the cross of St George, there is a rose and sun in splendour.⁶¹ On the reverse side there is a new image of St Michael, covered in feathers slaying the dragon. There is a striking similarity between this image of the feathered dragon-slayer and the feathered king of the Ripley scrolls. This coin of the new realm expands on the symbolism of the *Ripley Scroll*. The king emerges triumphant from the dragon of chaos. He emerges reborn from the alchemical bath in the royal mint, proclaiming and celebrating the emergence of the reborn nation identified with the new king. The appearance of freshly minted coins bearing Edward's image was a dramatic, emblematic representation of the resurrection of the Sun King, of Edward's emergence as a king from the destruction of civil war. These bright new gold coins, issued in the interests of the common good, boosted public confidence and testified to the prosperity of the realm.

The image of St Michael on Edward's angel is related to the other dragon-slayer, St George, established as England's national saint since 1351. This link is established with the cross of St George displayed on the ship's mast on the reverse of this coin. St George was an ancient fertility god, a sun god who defeated the serpent that tried to prevent the dawning of the new day. As a martyr with pre-Christian associations with the fertility of the land, he was identified with the fight against the outgoing king of the year, placating the spirits through the sacrifice of the king for the good of the community so that the new king could emerge in the spring bringing fertility to the land.⁶² This cluster of associations placed the cult of St George in a close relationship with the reborn dragon-slaying king of the *Ripley Scrolls* and the emergent Edward IV, who regularly prayed to the saint, and with the springtime. Edward had slain the dragon and dispelled the waters of chaos, establishing a new harmony and facilitating the rebirth of the nation newly emerged like freshly minted coinage. The merging of St Michael into St George brought about on Edward's coinage a conjunction of alchemical symbolism with England's national saint, to whom Edward was

⁶¹ Oman, *Coinage of England*, p. 220.

⁶² Riches, *St George Hero Martyr*, p. 123.

especially dedicated. The focus for this cult was the chapel of St George at Windsor, rebuilt by Edward IV, and the home of the Garter; this iconic building was at once Edward's Camelot and the symbolic heart of his new dynasty.

Norton, writing in 1477 with the same nostalgic perspective as Malory, described these early years of Edward's reign as a period of great hope and idealism for alchemists. He recounts a miracle that happened in 1464/5:

[...] iij mastri of this science alle
 Lay in oon bed nye to leden halle;
 whiche hadd Elixers perfite white and redde.
 A wondir such iij to rest in oon bedde,
 And that within the space of dayes tene,
 while hard is to fynde oon in Milions of men. [...]
 A man myght walke alle the world a-bowte
 And faylle such iij masters to fynde owte.⁶³

The eldest chanted that a great joy should be had in every quarter of the land, which all good men can understand. The youngest of these alchemists was Norton but the man, who dominates, occupying the role of Merlin, is Ripley. There is a strong and consistent tradition that Ripley was Norton's master. Norton revealed that as a young man he travelled four hundred miles to see him and learn the secret of the philosopher's stone. This would cover the round trip from Norton's home in Bristol to Ripley's cell in Bridlington Priory. During the visit they discussed the marriage of the red and white (sulphur and mercury) a theme that dominates both men's writing. This had great significance in 1464 when the red dragon, Edward IV, married Elizabeth Woodville, who was closely identified with the white lady of mercury. Through her mother, Jacquetta of Luxembourg, duchess of Bedford, Elizabeth could trace her ancestry to Melusine, the serpent woman and founder of the house of Luxembourg at Lusignan. By the fifteenth century this woman, who was believed to be half serpent, had become a symbol for the feminine spirit of nature, the primeval mother of being that led to the production of the philosopher's stone. She stood for the perpetual cycle of generation and regeneration that led to the balance of the four humours. She was a manifestation of the earth-mother that devours the dead and regurgitates the new born. From her body in a sealed vessel, which is like the alchemist's sealed vessel, the waters of creation rose and through her agency

⁶³ *Thomas Norton's Ordinal*, ed. Reidy, p.45, ll.1389-1394, 1401-2.

the sun and moon conjoined in marriage.⁶⁴ Melusine was used in this way in the *Ripley Scrolls*, where she was depicted as the maternal serpent woman winding her way down the tree of knowledge between the sun and moon, presiding over their marriage. Melusine, as ancestor of Elizabeth Woodville, was therefore an appropriate figure to preside over the marriage of Edward (the sun) and her descendent, Elizabeth (the moon) and alchemists such as Ripley and Norton must have been excited about this royal marriage. Thomas Norton's great grandson, the Elizabethan alchemist Samuel Norton, alluded to a section of the *Ordinal of Alchemy* in the family's possession – but missing from the surviving manuscripts – when he described his great-grandfather's account of the idealism inspired by this marriage:

Yet once this science I understand
 shall greatly honor the throne of England
 When in this Land shall raigne a king,
 Which shall love god above all thing.
 The which I most desire to come to pass
 By the fortune and by the grace
 Of a woman faire of face.⁶⁵

Inflation, overexcitement and lack of proportion were one of the hazards of alchemy for the adept and his patron. Norton repeatedly stressed the need for a clear head and claimed he was a man of science. He condemned proud scholars who doubted alchemy, claiming that they were as likely to doubt such scientific feats as the building of St Paul's steeple. His *Ordinal of Alchemy* contains salutary examples of deluded alchemists drawn from these early years of the reign. A monk from recently English occupied Normandy, who was determined to use alchemy to leave behind some noble act immortalising his name, came to Norton with a plan to obtain a licence from the king to purchase enough land to build on Salisbury Plain 'glorious to be seen' fifteen abbeys every mile.⁶⁶ The money for the project would be provided from his alchemical experiments. The inspiration for the scheme may have come from the ley line that was supposed to run along the plain through Glastonbury to St Michael's Mount in Cornwall. Norton commented:

⁶⁴ MacGibbon, *Elizabeth Woodville*, pp. 214-45; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, "A Most Benevolent Queen"; Baring-Gould, *Myths*, p. 36. Baring-Gould, *Myths of the Middle Ages* (1996); *Melusine*, compiled 1382-94 by Jean d'Arras, translated in 1500 edn., From BL MS Bibl Reg BII (EETS, London, 1895).

⁶⁵ Bodley Ashmole MS 1421, fol. 171^v.

⁶⁶ *Thomas Norton's Ordinal*, ed. Reidy, p. 21.

Such maters to shew to a kynge;
 But if the profe were resonable,
 He wold thynk it a folish fable.⁶⁷

Edward was undoubtedly the subject of some idealistic and impractical schemes. Most alchemists believed that their purpose in advising the king was to lead him towards an idealistic enterprise, the equivalent of Merlin's vision for the knights of the Round Table of the recovery of the Holy Grail. For Ripley and George Neville, and for alchemists among the Hospitallers, such as Sir John Langstrother, this would be found in a revival of crusades, the ultimate object of which was the reconquest of Jerusalem. The Turks were threatening Western Europe and Rhodes, guarded by the knights of St John, was in the front line of defence. A threat to the island led to a call for a crusade. There a persistent tradition that Ripley stayed with the knights at Rhodes on his travels and helped raise money for its defence. In letters to George Neville he prescribed medicine, a quintessence of gold, to help pilgrims and expressed a wish to visit the Holy Places of Jerusalem, where Christ walked, lived and died.⁶⁸ George Neville expressed his commitment to a crusade in a letter to the papal legate Coppini, who had supported the Yorkist cause.⁶⁹ However it was becoming clear towards the end of the decade that Edward was losing his sense of purpose and his energies were becoming dissipated in less noble directions. Rumours of womanising, drunkenness and avarice were circulating. For the alchemists there was concern that Edward's interest in transmutation was confined to the production of gold. This was demonstrated around 1468 when an alchemist, Thomas Dalton, was abducted from his abbey in Gloucestershire by Thomas Herbert, squire of the body of Edward IV's household, and John Delves, a squire in the royal household, and brought before the king. Dalton, when pressed to produce his elixir, which would make the king rich, announced that he had thrown it in a ditch, to which Edward replied:

'Alas dalton –
 It was fowle done to spille such a thyng.
 He wolde haue dalton to make it agayne'.⁷⁰

Dalton was subsequently imprisoned for four years by Herbert, and Norton reflected that a noble man had been treated like a felon when patience and

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 22, ll. 594-596.

⁶⁸ BL Sloane MS 2580 B.

⁶⁹ Calendar of Milanese Papers ed. A.B. Hinds, vol 1, p. 57.

⁷⁰ *Thomas Norton's Ordinal*, ed. Reidy, ll. 961-962.

grace might have obtained great solace for the king, the commons and the land: *But wondire not that grace do not falle, /For synne regnyuth in this londe ovir alle.* Any hopes that Edward would finance a crusade were finally dashed in May 1468 when he announced his plans to invade France. In this same year George Neville and Stephano Trento, bishop of Lucca who was in England with a licence to raise a Papal tenth for a crusade, corresponded on the growing moral illness, royal wantonness, and impiety within the realm.⁷¹

In 1470 Edward was forced to flee to Burgundy and Henry VI was placed back on the throne. The scientific community was behind this experiment, the object of which was to prepare the way for the accession of Henry's eighteen-year-old son, Edward. George Ashby, Margaret of Anjou's servant, wrote a justification of the Lancastrian monarchy, employing alchemical imagery and describing the king as the water of life.⁷² The scientific community supported this experiment. John Langstrother, warden of the mint in the Tower, together with John Delves, the man responsible for bringing Dalton before Edward IV, had helped co-ordinate the defence of Rhodes and was elected prior of the order in England after Edward IV's fall. He was closely associated with John Fortescue, a member of the 1457 alchemy commission, who had made several appeals to the papacy for a crusade while he was in exile. Robert Multon, prior of the order of St John 1474-6, was also closely associated with Fortescue. Members of Multon's family, who were stationers in London, produced a compendium of alchemical treatises containing the works of Fortescue.⁷³ The priory at Clerkenwell became the headquarters of the rising against Edward. The key figure was George Neville, who arrested Edward in 1469 and led a bewildered Henry VI from St Paul's to Westminster abbey, the king clinging to his hand like a frightened child. Ripley may have been implicated. Ties of family and friends may have forced him to support the northern rebellion of 1469. In the *Marrow of Alchemy*, written for Neville in 1476, Ripley addressed his friend in the preface revealing that '[H]e had divers kindred gentlemen of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire – who were by the conquering sword of Edward IV lamentably destroyed'.⁷⁴ The alchemical implications were clear. The freshly minted Edward of Lancaster was the same age as Edward of March when he came to the throne. Fortescue, who had been the devoted

⁷¹ Baluzii, *Tutelensis Miscellanea*, pp. 494-450.

⁷² Ashby, George, *Poems*, ed. Bateson EETS, London extra ser. 76, 1899.

⁷³ Gross, *The Dissolution*, pp. 107-109, 121-123, 127-132.

⁷⁴ Elias Ashmole found evidence of Ripley's Yorkshire background in an ancient manuscript copy of the *Medulla Alchemiae*. See Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, p. 457; Ripley, *The Marrow of Alchemy*, Bodley Ashmole MS 1480 fo. 164v.

tutor of the exiled prince, gave an alchemical rationalisation of the scheme in *De natura*, when he argued for the by-passing of one monarch and finding the essence of gold in another. Neville played the same role for the young Edward of Lancaster as he had done for Edward of March in 1461 and gave the opening address to Parliament that was summoned in Henry's name in November 1470.

During the Wars of the Roses there was therefore an unprecedented use of occult imagery in the vernacular writings of Norton and Ripley, in heraldic and genealogical rolls, and in sermons and proclamations. These were successfully deployed to celebrate the claims of the competing dynasties and the nation's renewal. However, the disappointment surrounding Edward IV in the later 1460s also encouraged alchemists to reflect on the failed potential of their patron, bringing a political dimension to their writing. Norton recognised that the success of his alchemical experiment depended on the patron being in accord with his work. The state of mind of the king was an important factor in the success of the latter:

That full fewe lordis be stable of mynde;
Thei be hastie, the werke is longe,
Thei wolde haue yowe do nature wronge.⁷⁵

Many powerful patrons, he claims, are impatient and changeable like butterflies. In the Latin preamble to the *Ordinal of Alchemy* Norton promises that his sacred book, a gift from God, will honour the king of England when he is stable in lordship and changes old habits for the better. Norton delivered a prophecy, that the science of alchemy will come to the king of England who loves God, and according to the manuscript in the possession of Norton's great-grandson, Samuel Norton:

Truly King Edward was nigh thereto
If sinne had not kept him therefro
But serlie sinne jointlie with grace
Will not be together in one place.⁷⁶

In the surviving manuscript written in the 1490s Norton predicted a time of great joy in every corner of the land, 'when all men shalle see the holy crosse honouryd both day and night/ In a lande of God in the land of light'. When this happens, the science of alchemy shall draw towards the king and grace ill shall descend on him, if he amend old manners.

⁷⁵ *Thomas Norton's Ordinal*, ed. Reidy, p. 84, ll. 2708-2709.

⁷⁶ Bodley Ashmole MS 1421 fol. 172^v.

There is in late medieval alchemy an implicit link between the philosopher's stone and the Holy Grail, and Norton's poignant laments on the failures of this charismatic king to instil in his court and realm the sense of destiny achieved during the time of Arthur and Merlin echoes the elegiac lament of Malory over the disintegration of Camelot and the departure of the Grail from Logres. In his portrayal of the increasingly bewildered and betrayed Arthur, Malory was, like Norton, alluding to the frailty of Edward IV in the face of the feuds of the Neville family and the collapse of the crusading ideal. Both authors sound a prophetic note in their expectations of the reappearance of an Arthur who will recover the Grail. However, they ultimately remained stubbornly loyal to their charismatic king. Malory, who expressed this by stressing the parallels between Edward and Arthur, died in prison before Edward's triumphant return; but both Norton and Ripley probably accompanied Edward to exile in Burgundy. Ripley, after Edward's successful return in 1471, referred to his secret correspondence with Edward from the University of Louvain. He also renounced all his experiments proceeding this date as erroneous, perhaps in an allusion to the failure of the Readeption. According to Samuel Norton his great-grandfather, despite his criticisms of Edward, accompanied him to Burgundy.

Edward's extraordinary reconquest of his kingdom in 1471 can only be fully understood with reference to the support and encouragement that he received from these two men and from others with alchemical interests, such as Robert Barker and Roger Marshall. The vernacular writings of Ripley and Norton describing the rebirth of gold or the king from the chaos and filth of the *nigredo* were celebrating Edward's rebirth. Ripley's *Twelve Gates of Alchemy* of 1471 represents not only the appearance of the first vernacular work dealing exclusively with alchemy and occult matters, but the first attempt to directly relate such matters to political reflection and advice. Inspired by Edward's courageous voyage from Burgundy to England, Ripley employed the motif of a sea voyage towards a castle, with the alchemist at the helm, to explain the alchemical work. He referred to the king's wisdom undone by sin and compared him to the Old Testament King David. In the fifth gate, of putrefaction, he reflected that from the blackness would come the strong colours of the rainbow. The sun rose from the waters of the flood and Noah planted a vineyard which brought forth grapes. Likewise the soul, after the darkness of purgatory, passes into a paradise and the elements are joined without strife; the red king is reborn rejoicing in the wholeness and beauty of his white queen. In his description of the turning of the wheel of the elements, Ripley even gave an allegorical account of Edward's deposition and the reconquest. He described the sun passing from the west to the purgatorial darkness of the north (where Edward was imprisoned in 1469), his rising in the east (in Burgundy), and its ascension in the

south with a celebration of Edwards coronation on the pavement in Westminster:

‘And set thee down there in the chair of fire, [...] there burneth thee sunne up in his Hemisphere After the eclipses in redness with glorie As King to raigne upon all the metals and mercurie’.⁷⁷

The reconquest, like the original Yorkist conquest of 1461, was accompanied by the political deployment of alchemical motifs. The sun in ascendancy was placed in the windows of parish churches throughout the kingdom – in Bramley, Rainham in Kent, and on the ceiling of Tewkesbury Abbey.⁷⁸ Genealogies were reissued to show again Edward’s descent through the British line of Mortimer to Cadwallader and Brutus. One roll, perhaps executed in Burgundy during Edward’s exile includes the prophecy of the angel to Cadwallader, employs alchemical symbolism in a drawing of the process of creation, the manifestation of God’s divine order from the chaos of undifferentiated matter, and gives the two kings destined to meet in battle again at Barnet the alchemical cognomens of Sol and Lupus.⁷⁹

The reconquest also marked an intensification of the relationship between Edward and his Merlin, as Ripley set about giving specific moral and political advice to his king. In Robert de Borron’s account of Uther Pendragon, securing his kingdom, Merlin spoke to the king privately, promising to reveal ‘some of my deepest secrets now that this land is fully in your hands’. Ripley, in the letter he addressed to Edward IV that accompanied the *Twelve Gates of Alchemy*, similarly promised to reveal to his king by word of mouth secrets concerning the red and white elixir that springs from a single base and which he would reveal to no one else, secrets he had alluded to in his correspondence from the University of Louvain. This was related to Ripley’s account of the reconciliation of the warring opposites of red and white that ultimately spring from one base. When these elements join ‘passive natures you turn into active’. This may be an explicit reference to Edward’s transformation from the inert victim of 1469 to the conquering Jason of 1471. Ripley certainly set about to impart specific advice to his patron. He warned him not to pursue vendettas against political opponents. He pointed out that Edward, as the embodiment of the stone, was proof

⁷⁷ Ripley, *Compound of Alchymy* (ed. Linden), p. 35.

⁷⁸ Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy*, pp. 231-233.

⁷⁹ Bodley Ashmole, MS 26.

‘that Man is the most noble creation
Of earthly composition that ever God wrought,
In whom is the foure Elements, proportioned by nature’
A naturall Mercurialitie’,⁸⁰

Ripley proceeded to advise Edward on how to maintain this proportion and harmony through diet and philosophy, so that he could engender the same harmony in his own kingdom, ‘wherefore I trust the land shalbe renewed’,⁸¹.

Norton ultimately went further than Ripley in imparting political advice and criticism. He fell out with Edward over the king’s failure to support him as collector of customs when he brought a bill of complaint against the mayor of Bristol for smuggling and corruption. He declared in 1477 that he was writing in the vernacular to reach a wider audience:

Whi so noble science as all men this arte call
Is here sett owte in englishe blonte and rude.⁸²

However because of the specific criticisms of the king he chose to conceal his identity in a clever acrostic taken from the first word of the preface and the first two or three letters of the first words of the subsequent chapters which reads ‘liber Thomas Norton of Bristol. A perfect master ye may him trowe’. Norton’s comment on Edward’s implication in the persecution of the alchemist Dalton was:

And euer it happith with-owte lesynge
That Tiraunys be ful nye to a kinge.⁸³

In another section of the work he reflected:

If oon evil man hadd herof alle his wille,
All christian pees he myght hastily spille,
And with his pride he myght set a-downe
Rightful kingis and princis of renowne.⁸⁴

This statement many well have been applied to Richard III. The scientific community shunned Edward’s younger brother and saw the premature death

⁸⁰ Ripley, *Compound of Alchymy* (ed. Linden), p. 87.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 89.

⁸² *Thomas Norton’s Ordinal*, ed. Reidy, p. 95, ll. 3088-3089.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p.33, ll. 975-976.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p.12, ll. 239-242.

of their king as a disaster that brought the body politic back to a state of chaos, the *nigredo* with which the alchemical work begins. The transmission of anxieties about the political situation into alchemical and occult imagery can be seen in a letter written by the wool merchant, George Cely, in London, between 13 and 26 June 1483, after the execution of William Lord Hastings. Cely, whose main source of information was the prior of the order of St John of Jerusalem, a centre of alchemical interests and intrigue, repeated the fearful rumours of deaths, invasion, and the disintegration of the political body, encouraged by Richard duke of Gloucester and Buckingham. He also included in his letter alchemical symbols for antimony, Jupiter and the uroboros to suggest that God would watch over the beginning and fulfilment of another great alchemical experiment.⁸⁵ This would take the form of a marriage embodying the basic principle of alchemy, the conjunction of the red and white. On Christmas Day 1483, at Rennes Cathedral, Henry Tudor, whose mother Margaret Beaufort bore the red rose, took an oath to marry Elizabeth of York (of the white rose). Behind this conjunction of sulphur and mercury were leading intellectuals who shared an interest in medicine and alchemy, including John Morton, bishop of Ely; his confessor Mr T. Ward, author of a treatise on the sublimation of mercury; the Welsh physician and astronomer, Lewis Caerlion, physician of Margaret Beaufort and Elizabeth Woodville; John Argentine, physician of the princes in the tower; and the alchemist and physician, Thomas Nandike.⁸⁶ These men would have found inspiration for this marriage of the red and white in a Latin alchemical work of the Benedictine monk and diplomat, John Sawtry who evoked the *Gemma salutaris* attributed to Merlin and wrote: 'Merlin says if the white woman be married to the red man / They are combined together and they that were two shall be made as one'.⁸⁷ The inspirational figures of Merlin, and Ripley lay behind this marriage, which produced the Tudor Rose, the symbol of a united nation and led to the birth of Prince Arthur. The imagery of the prophecies attributed to Merlin and the writings of Ripley, the marriage of a white queen and red king, the conjunction of the opposites of sun and moon, silver and gold, and the symbolism signifying the conclusion of the Great Work (the round orb, the stone, and the sacred rose of alchemy) must have given those organising the royal marriage the confidence to anticipate the resolution of the conflicts between the opposites of red and white that had raged in the body politic since the deposition of Richard II in 1399 and, indeed, since the death of King Arthur. The excitement that Nor-

⁸⁵ London, Nat Archives SC. 1/53/19A; Sean Cunningham, *Richard III a Royal Enigma*, pp. 38-39.

⁸⁶ Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy*, p. 301ff.

⁸⁷ Bodley Ashmole MS 1459.

ton must have felt about the importance of the work of his master Ripley is perhaps reflected in his account of their face-to-face discussions of the marriage of the red and white in the 1490 copy of the *Ordinal of Alchemy*:

But my hert quakith, my hond is tremeling,
when I write of this most selcowth thing.⁸⁸

Their discusssions seem to have encompassed the sacred rose of alchemy (which subsequently appeared in copies of the *Ripley Scrolls*), which combined the opposites of red and white. According to Norton, he received from his master's own hands:

So grete secretis to shew as thei tolde.
Thei seide with-in centris of incomplete white
was hidde oure red stone of most delite.⁸⁹

In Christmas 1483 this must have seemed a prophetic description of the new English rose, the philosopher's stone.

The powerful Tudor state that eventually controlled the church and began the process of dominating the globe was essentially a creation of Edward IV and his alchemists. Ripley and Norton, by focusing on the potential and the weaknesses of their royal patron, were providing a Renaissance portrait of a prince and adventurer, who used alchemy, prophecy and myth to gain the throne on two separate occasions. This same king also used these occult forces to weld together a nation that anticipated the nation state of the Tudors, harnessing the myths, allegories and symbols of alchemical medicine in the service of a centralised secular state created out of the aftermath of civil war. One of the secrets hidden in the writings of Ripley and Norton is a portrait of a Renaissance ruler. What they both anticipated through their meditations on the alchemical processes was the arrival of a monarch who would end the tension between occult and religious sources of power and deploy them in the service of the state. This was expressed in Thomas Norton's vision of an era of greatness under a monarch who would love God above all things. Samuel Norton applied his grandfather's encomium to a woman fair of face, whose grace would secure revelation of the philosopher's stone to the monarch of the realm in his own time.⁹⁰ Under Elizabeth I church and state had become one and the gap between the occult and the church had closed. Elizabeth I was, like her grandfather, a patron of alche-

⁸⁸ *Thomas Norton's Ordinal*, ed. Reidy, p. 82, ll. 2631-2632.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, ll. 2650-2651.

⁹⁰ Bodley Ashmole MS 1421 fol. 172^v.

mists. Under this queenly monarch alchemists such as John Dee drew up maps and navigation charts that contributed towards the first attempts towards the circumnavigation of the globe. These first steps too had been intuitively taken by Edward IV's alchemists. Norton lived near Bristol, where the Cabot brothers embarked on their first voyages.⁹¹ Ripley's *Twelve Gates of Alchemy* is full of imagery derived from ocean travel, navigation and compass directions.⁹² Within his vision of the turning of the wheel of elements, converting water into air, and air into earth, so that

Natures contraries foure are made one
After they have three times been circulate,⁹³

lies the notion of the squaring of the circle, four into one, which is at the foot of *the Ripley Scrolls* and the *Coronation Roll*,

Your elements join that they not strive –
Of water fire and wind of earth make blive
And of the quadrangle make a figure round.

This mastery of the elements, the squaring of the circle leads to the notion of the circumnavigation of the globe. The navigational and exploratory imagery becomes explicit when Ripley writes on the resurrection of the stone:

Up to the Moone, or sith up to the Sunne,
Through the Ocean sea, which round is withouten end,
Onely shippen within a little glassen tunne.⁹⁴

Through navigation, courage, patience, enterprise and mastery of the four elements the globe is encompassed and conquered. The round orb at the foot of the *Ripley Scrolls* therefore represents both the realisation of the selfhood of the nation state and its place in the imperial domination of the globe.

⁹¹ Williamson, 'The Cabot Voyages', pp. 23, 228.

⁹² Szulakowska, 'The Pseudo-Lullian Origins of George Ripley's Maps', pp. 107-123.

⁹³ Ripley, *Compound of Alchymy* (ed. Linden), p. 32.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 95.

HENRY VII AND HENRY VIII

D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton

This essay is concerned with the status, authority, institutional setting, and cultural milieu of the first two English kings of the House of Tudor: Henry VII (b. 28 January 1457), who seized the throne following the death of the last Plantagenet king Richard III in the Battle of Bosworth on 22 August 1485, and ruled until his death on 21 April 1509;¹ and his second but only surviving son Henry VIII (b. 28 June 1491), who succeeded him and ruled to his own death on 28 January 1547.² In English historiography the change of dynasty in 1485 has long been identified with the division between the major historical phases called since the seventeenth century the 'Middle Ages' and 'Modernity', or more particularly the division of Modernity that since the early twentieth century has usually be described as 'Early'. Until quite recently, therefore, the Tudors have been studied by 'early modernists', in relative isolation from the preceding 'medieval' centuries. England under the Tudors has also been viewed as one of the 'new monarchies'³ held to be characteristic of this period – more centralised, more efficient, and more powerful than their predecessors,⁴ and eminent historians of the school of A. P. Newton and Geoffrey Elton have for some time attempted to explain how this new condition was achieved through more or less profound institutional changes, which among other things effectively separated the practical business of 'government' from the frivolity of the 'court'.⁵ More recent histori-

¹ On his life and reign, see Chrimes, *Henry VII*; Grant, *Henry VII: The Importance of His Reign*; Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*. It is significant that his reign actually received an article in *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*, p. 349, while that of Henry VIII did not. Not long ago, neither would have been included, but I would include both.

² On his life and reign, see Graves, *Henry VIII: A Study in Kingship*; Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*.

³ The phrase was once used quite widely; see, for example, *The New Monarchies and Representative Assemblies: Medieval Constitutionalism or Modern Absolutism* (Boston, 1964)

⁴ See, for example, *The New Monarchy in England 1471-1534* (Oxford, 1988)

⁵ See A. P. Newton, 'Tudor Reforms in the Royal Household', in R. W. Seton-Watson, ed., *Tudor Studies* (London, 1924), pp. 231-56; Geoffrey Elton, *The Tudor*

ans specialising in the household and court, however – most prominently David Starkey – have cast considerable doubts upon these positions,⁶ and have argued that in fact the separation between court and government that *seemed* to have been effected under Henry VIII in particular was never more than nominal, and that the court and government were only *partly* separable as late as the eighteenth century. Others have shown that in most areas the policies of the first two Tudors in most areas differed very little from those of their predecessors during the previous century and more; that both the theory and the practice of monarchical power and the state actually evolved in a slow and fitful manner throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and that in consequence the ‘new monarchy’ of England, at least, was not nearly as new as had been believed.⁷

My own view as a ‘medievalist’ with a particular interest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is that the changes that since about 1700 have commonly been held to mark the beginning of Modernity in the decades around the year 1500 had relatively little impact on the economic, social, political, and administrative structures of most Latin Christian states, and that in the context of general historiography the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries are better understood as the second major phase or ‘epoch’ of a broader, ‘Traditional’ *Period* that began around 1200 than as the first phase of any sort of ‘Modernity’ – which from the perspective of the twenty-first century cannot reasonably be held to have begun much before 1790, even in the most advanced countries. My account of the first Tudor kings of England will accordingly note not only the more important innovations they did effect, but also the many areas in which their courts and governments scarcely differed at all from those of their predecessors of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries. It will show that no developments important enough to mark a change even from one *epoch* to another (let alone from a medieval to a modern *Era*) occurred before Henry VIII secured the secession of the English Church from Rome in 1533, and set his kingdom on the path to the domination of a peculiarly English kind of Protestantism.

Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII (Cambridge, 1953), and *idem*, ‘Tudor Government’, *Historical Journal* 31 (1988), pp. 425-34.

⁶ See for example Starkey, ‘Tudor Government’; *idem*, ‘Court, Council, and Nobility in Tudor England’.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

The theory and practice of kingship in England in 1485

I shall begin with a brief account of the nature of the royal dignity and its authority and of the Tudor contributions to the conception of their own authority as kings. Here, as usual, these contributions were relatively modest. The kingship of England had had a continuous history of more than a thousand years when Richard III fell at Bosworth Field, and the theories, practices, and institutions that underlay it had accumulated many layers, which interpenetrated one another in many ways. The oldest and still arguably the most important layer was the Old English one, in which were embedded the fundamental ideas that the king was a leader and protector of the people and the Christian Church, and the source of justice and order in the kingdom (ideas summarised in their coronation oath, still used with modifications in the twentieth century), and a *Christus Domini* whose person was sanctified by anointing with Holy Oil, and could perform miracles of healing. This sacred character was ultimately held to inhere in only one of the king's 'two bodies' – the public rather than the private one⁸ – but this was never more than a theoretical distinction, and in practice the king's physical person was treated with elaborate respect even after death.

The Norman régime that had succeeded the Old English in 1066 had built mightily on the base created by their Old English predecessors, retaining most of the existing institutions and practices while supplementing some and replacing others with the corresponding ones of their own well-governed duchy. Most important of these was the feudal system of land-tenure, under which the king became the personal *seignor* of the greater vassals or 'barons' and as the paramount *suzerain* of a hierarchy of vassals holding their estates directly or indirectly from him by feudal tenure in return for homage, fealty, and military and political service. Though fundamental to the theory of monarchy in France down to the later fifteenth century, however, this idea and the institutions related to it had never been more than supplementary in England. Indeed, the feudal system of landholding established under the Norman kings had done little more than serve as a convenient legal basis for the political and military relationships between the king, the magnates, and the knights. And while feudal institutions of all types would survive in England on paper until the middle of the seventeenth century, the relationship thus maintained in law had ceased to be the basis of any specific form of service on any social level in the fourteenth century, and played no part in the internal political affairs of England after about

⁸ On the doctrine of the two bodies, see Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*.

1350 except in the areas of the wardship of minor male and unmarried female vassals.⁹ Thus, the English state was never more than secondarily and superficially 'feudal', and had ceased to be 'feudal' in any meaningful sense more than a century before the first Tudor came to the throne.

The Plantagenet kings, who ruled from 1154 to 1485, made several contributions to the conceptualisation of royal status and authority in England. Most important among these were (1) the idea that the kingship was *territorial* rather than *gentile* in nature (as it had earlier been): a state of affairs reflected in the official form of the royal title *rex Anglie* 'King of England'; (2) that it was strictly *hereditary* and therefore *proprietary* rather than either designative or elective (as it had earlier been); (3) that it ought to be transmitted by *male-preferential primogeniture*, in essentially the same manner as a barony; and (4) that in its military aspect it was not only a form of lordship (*dominium*) but of knighthood (*militia*): the defining status of the new dominico-chivalric form of nobility that crystallised in the first decades of the Traditional Period and survived in much of Latin Christendom to dates between 1790 and 1918. I shall have more to say about this in the section on the relations between king and nobility below, but it will be convenient to note here that in 1485 the nobiliary ideology of chivalry in England had long been embodied in the Order of the Garter: a neo-Arthurian confraternity founded by Edward III in 1348/9, placed under the Sovereignty of the king and the protection of St George, the patron of knighthood and of England, and given a sumptuous seat in the Chapel and Hall of St George in Windsor Castle, one of the principal royal palaces.

The one remaining source of ideas about royal authority in England derived from the Classical Roman tradition, preserved in the Roman Civil Law that had been revived in many continental kingdoms during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In this context, the principal term for political authority was *imperium* – originally the right of command given to the higher Roman magistrates, and then the authority of the *princeps* as perpetual *imperator*: an authority that came to be conceived of as absolute and unrestrained. In the context of political theory, however, *imperator* had taken on a new sense in the thirteenth century: that of 'sovereign lord acknowledging no jurisdictional superior'. This sense first appeared in the phrase '*rex est imperator in regno suo*', apparently coined by the English jurist Alanus in the early thirteenth century, taken up first by the Emperor Frederick II in his Sicilian court, then by the lawyers of Philip IV 'the Fair' in France, and finally by the Italian jurist Bartolo da Sassoferrato. Bartolo argued that any

⁹ On the status of feudal institutions in England, see Bean, *The Decline of English Feudalism*.

civitas – by which he meant any state, including principalities and city-republics – that did not recognise a superior was *sibi princeps*, and enjoyed the full jurisdiction (*imperium*) of an emperor.¹⁰ This doctrine was in common use by lawyers in the *Parlement* of Paris in the fifteenth century, and by Italian lawyers well into the sixteenth, and as many English civilians studied in Italian law-schools, it must have been widely known in England, even if it was not actually cited there in any legal context before the 1520s.¹¹

In fact there is evidence that the doctrine represented by the phrase '*rex est imperator in regno suo*' was known in England within a few years of the accession of Henry V in 1414, and that by 1416 it had begun to influence the attitude of the king towards the nature of his dignity. According to Livio Frulovisi's *Vita Henri Quinti* of c. 1438, when in 1416 the Emperor-elect Sigismund von Luxemburg arrived at the coast of England for a peaceful visit, Henry's brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, had greeted him with a drawn sword, and demanded that he foreswear any attempt to exercise his imperial authority in England. When a translation of this text was made for Henry VIII in 1513, on the eve of his invasion of France and meeting with the current Emperor Maximilian von Habsburg, the translator inserted the explanation that Gloucester had done this '... for sauinge of the Kings Imperiall Maieste, [who] is an Emperor within his Realme'.¹² Confirmation of the sentiment indicated, if not the actual words, can be found in a poem by John Page about Henry V, composed in or after his siege of Rouen in 1418-19, which, after proclaiming the victorious king obedient to no one but God, declared Henry to be 'Within his own [realm] emperoure'.¹³ Further confirmation of the existence of the sentiment can be found in the fact that by 1415 Henry V had already begun the modern practice of wearing and representing on his effigies and over his arms an 'imperial' form of crown, modelled on one of the two forms worn by the contemporary Emperor of the Romans. I shall examine the development of this practice below.

Royal authority in England was finally derived in 1485 in very large part from a rather ramshackle collection of rights in particular areas or matters that had been accumulated over the many centuries of royal government and administration, and were usually justified on the basis of custom and precedent rather than any abstract theory of kingship. What the king could and could not do in England in 1485, therefore, was based much less on any coherent theory of kingship than on what previous kings had persuaded the

¹⁰ See Koebner, *Empire*, p. 36.

¹¹ See Mayer, 'On the road to 1534', esp. p. 21, and the works cited there.

¹² Quoted in Kingsford, ed, *The First English Life of King Henry V*, pp. 67-68

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. xxxiv, and in Hoak, 'The Iconography of the Crown Imperial', p. 60.

other leaders and representatives of the *communitas regni* or 'community of the realm' they should be permitted to do, in order to carry out the traditional duties of their office.

As this implies, England was already in 1485 a kingdom with a limited or 'constitutional' monarchy. Unlike their rivals the Capetian kings of France, who since the reign of Philip 'Augustus' in the early thirteenth century had attempted to restore to their office the full despotic authority of the Roman *principes*, the kings of England had decided towards the end of the same century that it was more advantageous to them to share their authority – especially legislative, but also judicial and to some extent executive – with a fully institutionalised regnal assembly, the Parliament.¹⁴ This body (convened in roughly its classic form irregularly since 1290 and regularly since 1327) was itself composed of what were still sometimes called the 'estates' of the realm. In practice this meant, on the one hand, all of the bishops of the kingdom, all of the more important abbots and priors, and all of the lay lords enjoying one of the five lordly dignities and the parliamentary status of baron,¹⁵ all summoned by a personal writ to sit in an upper chamber called the House of Lords;¹⁶ and on the other hand, representatives of the counties and major towns elected in pursuance to a writ issued to the sheriff of every county to sit in a lower chamber called the House of Commons. Parliament was in practice summoned almost every year from 1290 to 1399, when Henry of Lancaster seized the throne; less frequently during his reign; almost annually again from 1414 to 1433; every two to four years during the troubled period 1434-1472; and only every two to six years in the last decade or so before the accession of the first Tudor king in 1485.¹⁷ Since most of the representatives were themselves members of the minor nobility, and the lay peers who were the political element of the upper nobility¹⁸ dominated the Lords, the government of England can reasonably be seen as a kind of partnership between the king and the noble and clerical lords – especially as the latter also held most of the higher offices in what may be

¹⁴ On the history of the English Parliament, see Butt, *A History of Parliament*.

¹⁵ A distinction continued to be made into the Tudor period between the holders of true dignities – from prince to viscount – who were all invested in a formal ceremony, and the mere barons, who were not.

¹⁶ On the history of the House of Lords in particular, see Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*.

¹⁷ For the summoning and sessions of Parliament, see Powicke and Fryde, eds, *Handbook*, pp. 492-565, esp. pp. 507-535.

¹⁸ As explained below, the peerage should not be equated with the nobility, and as the upper nobility effectively included the wives and children of peers, it should not be equated with the upper nobility either.

loosely described in modern terms as the 'executive' branch of the government.

By 1485 the latter had come to consist of a number of similarly well-established institutions, all hived off from the Household or Court at various dates in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Most important among these were the Chancery under its chief, the Chancellor of England (who down to 1529 was usually a bishop and latterly one of the two archbishops, of Canterbury or York, and was *ex officio* the keeper of the Great Seal of state);¹⁹ the Treasury under the Treasurer of England (almost always a lay peer);²⁰ and the Exchequer under its Chancellor (formerly a deputy of the Chancellor of England) – all of which had permanent seats in or near the royal palace of Westminster, where the Parliament itself was almost always convened. Several of these bodies (including the Chancery and the Exchequer) had special judicial courts attached to them, and these – like the more generalised Court of the King's Bench under the Lord Chief Justice of England, and Court of Common Pleas under its Chief Justice – formed the uppermost level of a well-established system of regnal courts that reached throughout the kingdom and well down into the society of the counties – where sheriffs appointed by the king still supervised local government of all kinds, including the collection of revenues, just as they had done before the Conquest of 1066.²¹ In addition, the executive branch of government included at the centre the King's Council,²² the Office of the Privy Seal under its Keeper (normally a Bishop to 1530, and thereafter a lay peer),²³ and the Signet Office

¹⁹ For lists and bibliographies on the principal English offices of state, see Powicke and Fryde, *Handbook*, pp. 65-146. On the Chancery and Chancellors of England, see pp. 80-89. The Chancellors of my period were the following: Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln, 1485; John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, 1485-86; John Morton, Bishop of Ely, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1486, Cardinal from 1493, 1486-1500; William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1504-1515; Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York and Cardinal from 1515, 1515-1529; Sir Thomas More, 1529-1532; Sir Thomas Audley, first Lord Audley 1538, 1533-1544; Thomas Wriothesley, first Lord Wriothesley, 1544-1547.

²⁰ On the Treasury and Treasurers of England, see pp. 97-105. The Treasurers of my period were John Dynham, Lord Dynham, 1486-1501; Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and later Duke of Norfolk, 1501-1522; and Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, 1522-1546.

²¹ On the history of the judicial courts in England to the fourteenth century, see Musson and Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice*.

²² On the king's Council before 1485, see Fosdick Baldwin, *The King's Council*.

²³ For a list of the Keepers of the Privy Seal, see Powicke and Fryde, *Handbook*, pp. 89-97, esp. p. 93. The keepers of my period were: Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, 1485-87; Richard Fox, Bishop of Exeter to 1492, Bishop of Bath and Wells

under the royal Secretary²⁴ – all still attached to the peripatetic royal Household, centred on the person of the king. The executive also included the military offices of the Constable, Marshal, and Admiral of England, all of which were held by peers, and all of which had their own establishments and judicial courts in their own quarters. The Constable and Marshal also supervised the royal heralds, organised into a college by an act of Richard III in 1484.²⁵

Within the Kingdom of England itself, the position of the first two Tudor kings was at the beginning identical in principle, and to a great extent in fact, to that of their Plantagenet predecessors. Although *effective* royal authority had largely disintegrated under the last king of the Lancastrian line, the saintly but ineffectual Henry VI (1422-1461, 1470-71),²⁶ it had been largely restored under the two adult kings of the York line, Edward IV (1461-70, 1471-83)²⁷ and his brother Richard III (1483-85).²⁸ In order to secure effective control of his realm, therefore, Henry VII had to do little more than replace the adherents of the House of York with his own adherents in the more important royal offices, both central and local, and keep the wheels of government rolling.

Thus, Henry VII in 1485 stood at the head of a set of governmental institutions that by the standards of the day were both very well-established and effective in doing what they were meant to do. And if the necessity of working *through* these institutions and *in keeping with* established laws and procedures to some extent limited royal freedom of action, the fact that these institutions were at his disposal nevertheless gave the king an *effective* authority both throughout the kingdom and on every level of society of an extent that virtually all of his contemporary kings and princes would have en-

1492-94, Bishop of Durham 1494-1501, and Bishop of Winchester 1501-28, 1487-1516; Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham, 1516-1523; Sir Henry Marny, first Lord Marny, 1523; Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, 1523-1530; Thomas Boleyn, first Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, 1530-1536; Thomas Cromwell, first Lord Cromwell, Earl of Essex 1540, 1536-40; William Fitzwilliam, first Earl of Southampton, 1540-42; and John Russell, first Lord Russell, 1547-53

²⁴ On the earlier history of the office of royal secretary – who began as the keeper of the king's signet seal – see Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*; Dibden, 'Secretaries'; Otway-Ruthven, *The King's Secretary*.

²⁵ On the English heralds, see Wagner, Richmond Herald, *Heralds & Heraldry in the Middle Ages*; Wagner, Garter Principal King of Arms, *Heralds of England*.

²⁶ On his life and reign, see Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI*, and Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*.

²⁷ On his life and reign, see Ross, *Edward IV*.

²⁸ On his life and reign, see Ross, *Richard III*, and Horrox, *Richard III*.

vied had they known of them. The contemporary theorist Sir John Fortescue (from 1442 Lord Chief Justice under Henry VI and from c. 1461 Chancellor of England in exile) had in his *De laudibus legum Angliae* famously expressed the distinction between the (theoretically) *unlimited* authority of the King of France and the *limited* authority of the English king as that between *dominium regale* or ‘royal lordship’ and *dominium regale et politicum* or ‘royal and political lordship’, and expressed a marked preference for the latter.²⁹

In practice, of course, the *effective* authority of the King of England in most areas was at least as great as that of the King of France. In addition to having a better set of institutions at its disposal, royal authority was greatly enhanced by the fact that only one of the mere handful of semi-sovereign principalities in the kingdom (the ‘palatine’ lordship of the Bishops of Durham)³⁰ remained outside the royal demesne, and compact baronies with extensive jurisdictional rights (many of them also in royal hands) existed only in the Marches of Wales and Scotland. The other magnates of the kingdom had lost all of their judicial powers, and courts in the previous century had similarly lost their right to summon and command their own vassals in the field, and retained relatively few franchises that seriously interfered with the ability of the king and his officers to carry out their duties as they saw fit. In fact, in the institutional sphere England was a uniquely unified state in 1485, and neither regional particularism nor the refusal of magnates to surrender their traditional authority within their estates – both still widespread on the continent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – was a serious problem there. Even the culturally alien Welsh would allow their country to be absorbed completely into England without a struggle, and even the Irish chiefs in their quite separate kingdom would do little to resist the encroachment of royal government under the first Tudor kings. In England itself, so long as the magnates accepted the right of the person sitting on the throne to occupy that exalted position – which had been sporadically uncertain for various periods between 1399 and 1485 – they were generally content to follow his leadership, to carry out his will, and even to seek his favour in the form of

²⁹ Fortescue lived from c. 1385 to 1476; his book composed during his exile around 1463, was written for the benefit of finally printed for the Prince of Wales, and was finally printed in 1537.

³⁰ The others that survived at all were the Principality of Wales and the Duchy of Cornwall and County Palatine of Chester and its associated Honour (and former Principality) – which were held either by the king or by his heir apparent – and the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster, annexed to but not absorbed into the Royal Demesne in 1399, and still this day administered separately.

royal offices and nobiliary honours. Serious civil unrest and disorder had always been the exception rather than the rule in England, in contrast to many continental kingdoms, and very few peers had ever risked open rebellion against the king.

For this reason, much of the real power of the kingship rested on the right of the king to appoint whomever he chose to most of the greater offices of his kingdom – with the exception of a handful of offices like those of Constable (vacant except during coronations from 1521) and Marshal that had become hereditary in the lineages of great magnates, and were in any case increasingly reduced to ceremonial functions.³¹ In fact, the English king sat at the centre of a vast web of patronage, which in practice extended far below the levels that he touched directly through the patronage extended downward by his servants and clients. It even extended, as we shall see, to membership and rank within the national nobility. The authority of the king over the higher clergy was more limited, both by traditions that gave cathedral chapters and religious houses the right to elect their heads, and by the more recent practice of papal provision, but the king did retain considerable influence over who was elected or appointed to most clerical offices, and could generally secure promotions within the ecclesiastical hierarchy for clerics who had served him well. Nevertheless, since 1438 if not earlier the king's power in this area had been distinctly inferior to that of the King of France – whose dignity all English kings from 1340 to 1801 would claim – so it is perhaps not surprising that Henry VIII would do his best to remedy what he must have seen as a defect in his authority.

Before examining the changes effected by the Tudors, it should be emphasised that virtually all of the political and social structures, institutions, and offices that they had inherited from the Plantagenets – including all of those specifically mentioned and a large number of others – were destined to survive not only to the end of their dynasty in 1603, but in many cases to the present day. The only important types of institution that would disappear would be the religious order of clerics and nuns generally, and their individual houses more particularly; the secular clergy would be affected only to the extent that they had to conform to the new norms of the independent Church of England, and if they were removed from the jurisdiction of the Pope, they remained for many purposes under the jurisdiction of a separate Canon Law that changed only gradually after 1533.

More importantly in this context, most of the other institutions in question would survive to 1603 with only minor modifications to their structures,

³¹ On the hereditary offices and their holders, see Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. II, Appendix D, pp. 603-614.

functions, and memberships, and the Tudor kings introduced no really *new* institutions beyond those they needed to control the Church after the Act of Supremacy of 1533, and to distribute the property of the regular clergy (neither of which was destined to survive). Even the Privy Chamber within the Royal Household, and the closely-associated Privy Council under its Lord President (from 1530),³² and the two royal Secretaryships³³ attached to the latter (from 1540) – touted by Elton along with the reformed Parliament as the bases of the ‘Tudor Revolution’ in government – were merely divisions or modifications of long-established bodies or positions, given new prominence and authority so as to serve the king more effectively and contribute to the growth of his authority.

The kings & their kin: the dynastic situation of the first Tudors

It will be useful to begin my treatment of the reigns of the first two Tudor kings themselves with a brief summary of their dynastic situation, as this was arguably the single most important factor driving their political policies. Both of the early Tudor kings, and Henry VII in particular, suffered even more than their Lancastrian predecessors from a lack of the legitimacy that in England could only derive from descent in the legally senior line from Edward III and the earlier Plantagenets, for they were not members of the old royal house. Henry VII further suffered from the fact that his patrilineage was quite undistinguished by the standards of the day (his grandfather Owain having been a mere squire in a line of knights), and the fact that he was not even descended in a legitimate line from any English king (his grandmother Katherine having been only the wife of Henry V). The first Tudor king was thus obliged to base his claim to legitimate royal ancestry on his putative agnatic descent from the Welsh prince Cadwaladr of Gwynedd – who had died in 1172, and whose dragon-emblem his grandfather Owain had already taken.³⁴

³² A President of the Council of Wales had been appointed by Edward IV in 1473, and Henry VII seems merely to have followed this precedent when naming a president for his English Council at some time before 1497. The first man to occupy the formally-designated office of Lord President of the Privy Council was Henry VIII’s brother-in-law Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, appointed in 1530. On the office, see Pollard, ‘Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors’. For a list of Lords President, see Powicke and Fryde, *Handbook*, pp. 136-39.

³³ For a list of the Principal Secretaries of State from 1540 to 1782, see Powicke and Fryde, *Handbook*, pp. 110-115.

³⁴ Sir Owain Tudor had adopted a red dragon as his badge in token of his descent from Cadwalladr, and Henry VI’s heralds had assigned red dragons as both crests

All five of Owain Tudor's children by Katherine Capet de Valois – Edmund, Jasper, another son who became a monk, and two daughters – had been legitimated by Henry VI around 1449, and both of the elder sons had been knighted and effectively adopted into the royal family, to the extent of being assigned differenced versions of the royal arms suitable to the sons of a king. In 1453, they had both been given vacant royal earlships (of Richmond and Bedford respectively), with precedence immediately after dukes, in keeping with their new status as junior royals, but like the Beauforts before them (legitimated descendants of John 'of Gaunt', second Duke of Lancaster and ancestor of the Lancastrian kings) they could not be given any right to the succession. The best that Henry VI could do for his half-brother Edmund was to procure for him the hand of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, daughter and sole heiress of the third Beaufort Earl, and first Duke, of Somerset. As all of the male Beauforts had been killed by 1471, when Edward IV of York returned to the throne for his second reign, and as the last of the male members of the legitimate branch of the House of Lancaster, Henry VI, had died childless in the same year, the strictly moral claim that the Beauforts had possessed on the throne as members of a legitimated branch of the House of Lancaster had devolved by primogeniture on Lady Margaret Beaufort, and thence on her only son by Edmund Tudor, Henry of Richmond.

Thus, it was as the heir of a legitimated branch of the Lancastrian House that Henry Tudor, sometime second Earl of Richmond, proclaimed himself king at the conclusion of the Battle of Bosworth. So thin a claim would never have satisfied the majority of English peers in the long run, so Henry immediately announced his intention to marry the heiress of the York line, Elizabeth – daughter of Edward IV and only surviving legitimate Plantagenet descended from any of the three kings of the House of York. She was in fact the rightful queen, and Henry could have recognised her as such and ruled as her consort, but England had never had a regnant queen, and perhaps for that reason he chose to leave the basis of his claim to the kingship vague, and to emphasise instead that his *marriage* (which took place five months after his accession) represented a reconciliation of the two rival houses and factions, and that their *children* would represent both equally. This idea would play a prominent part in Henry's self-presentation and propaganda, but it would never be more than a part of a broader scheme in which the nature and extent of his authority as king were explained and asserted both to his subjects and to any foreigners who might be interested.

and supporters to the newly-granted version of the royal arms he assigned to his half-brothers Edmund and Jasper Tudor. See London, *Royal Beasts*.

Because the state of the dynasty was to remain a primary concern under all of the Tudor monarchs, and because much of the pageantry and imagery used for self-presentation, and some of the more important acts of diplomacy intended to increase their international prestige involved their wives and children, it will be useful here to present a brief sketch of the state of the Royal Family under the first two Tudor kings. Henry VII married Elizabeth Plantagenet of York on 18 January 1486, and had by her a number of children, including two sons and two daughters who survived infancy: Arthur (1486-1502); Margaret (1489-1541), Henry (1491-1547), and Mary (1496-1533). Arthur, who was married in 1501 to Katerina or Katherine 'of Aragon' (daughter of the 'Catholic Monarchs' King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Queen Isabella I of Castile), died without issue in 1502 at sixteen, making his younger brother Henry the heir apparent. Margaret was married in 1503 to James IV Stewart, King of Scots, while Mary was married first, in 1514, to Louis XII, King of France, and shortly after his death in 1515 to her brother's favourite Charles Brandon, promoted from Viscount Lisle to Duke of Suffolk for the occasion.

Henry VIII succeeded his father at eighteen on 22 April 1509. Almost immediately after this, on 11 June, he succumbed to political pressure from King Ferdinand 'the Catholic' (ignoring the prescient misgivings of the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham), and married his elder brother's widow, Katherine. Over the next twenty-four years she gave him three children who died either at birth or in their infancy (including Henry, recognised as Duke of Cornwall in the first two months of 1510), and one daughter who lived to adulthood: the Lady Mary (1516-1558), who would ascend the throne as Mary I in 1553 and die childless in 1558. In her own childhood, Mary was promised more or less formally to three foreign princes – the Dauphin Henri, the Emperor Charles V, and King Francis I – but none of these arrangements was carried through, and she did not marry until after she became queen.

The lack of a male heir was intolerable to Henry, and he began to contemplate a divorce as early as 1514, but various factors led him to persevere until it was clearly too late for Queen Katherine to have another child. This led, as we shall see, to a failed campaign to bully the Pope into granting an annulment, and the consequent declaration of the independence of the English Church from Rome. He then had his marriage annulled by a succession of acts of 1533 and 1534, declared the seventeen-year-old Lady Mary to be illegitimate, and started again with his second wife, Anne Boleyn (daughter of the rapidly rising courtier Thomas Boleyn, recently promoted Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond), whom he had already married on 25 January 1533. She, too, gave him a son who died shortly after his birth (Henry, Duke of Cornwall, Nov. 1534) and a single daughter: Elizabeth, (b. 1533), who in

1558 would succeed her half-sister Mary as Queen Elizabeth I and die unmarried in 1603. Still hoping for a male heir, in May 1536 the king had his second marriage invalidated and his second daughter illegitimated, executed Anne for treason, and married his third wife, Jane Seymour, daughter of another courtier, Sir John Seymour. She lived only to October of the following year, having given Henry his only legitimate son destined to live beyond infancy: Edward, Duke of Cornwall, who would succeed his father as Edward VI at the age of ten in 1547, and die at the age of sixteen in 1553. Henry also had one illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy, (1519?-1536), who was promoted Duke of Richmond and of Somerset in 1525, when he was six, and was for a time considered a potential heir to the throne. Unfortunately, he too died unmarried, at the early age of seventeen, in the year before his legitimate younger brother Edward was born.

Henry's three later wives – Anna or Anne von Cleve (daughter of the Duke of Cleves in Germany, and queen from 6 January to 9 July 1540), Katherine Howard (daughter of Lord Edmund Howard and granddaughter of the Duke of Norfolk, queen 28 July 1540 to 13 February 1542) and Katherine Parr (daughter of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal, queen 12 July 1543 to 28 January 1547) – gave him no children. Henry was finally reconciled to his two daughters by his sixth wife, and although he did not immediately legitimate them, he finally decided that it would be wise to make them available to succeed him in case Edward, too, died young. He first sought and received an act of Parliament that would permit him to regulate the succession by will, and then did so in 1554, making Edward his immediate heir, but permitting Mary to succeed him should he die without issue, and Elizabeth to succeed her should she die without issue. Although without precedent in England, these actions did nothing more than undo the effects of his earlier annulments, and restore the succession to its natural order.

*The characters, general policies, and
major innovations of Henry VII and Henry VIII*

After their dynastic situation, the factors that played the largest part in determining the policies of the first two Tudor kings were their own personalities and formative experiences. Henry VII had been raised with no expectation of becoming more than an earl, and he spent fourteen years in exile in Brittany before an opportunity arose to turn the tables. Once accepted as king at the age of twenty-eight, he quickly proved himself to be a prudent ruler in the tradition of Edward IV, whose policies he adopted. Nevertheless, he identified strongly with his Lancastrian predecessors, and promoted the memories both of the chivalrous Henry V and his saintly (if ineffectual) son Henry VI. Rather than pursuing the irredentist war in France that had

been renewed and successfully prosecuted by the former, however, he concluded a peace with the de facto King of France for a promised indemnity of £149,000, and devoted himself to restoring both internal peace and economic prosperity to his war-torn kingdom. He did suppress the Yorkist revolts associated with the pretenders Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck with some severity, but otherwise attempted to maintain good if increasingly distant relations with the nobility. Henry's foreign policy was also designed to secure peace and security for his kingdom rather than to assert its might or expand its dominions. He sought the alliance with the Catholic Monarchs, cemented by the marriage of his son to their daughter primarily to curb the ambitions of his French rival Louis XII, and married his daughter Margaret to the King of Scots to secure peace on his long-troubled northern frontier.

Henry's only real contribution to the military establishment of his kingdom was his foundation, immediately following his accession, of an institutionalised royal bodyguard, the company of the 'Yeomen of the Guard of the Body of Our Lord the King', whose first members were men who had returned with Henry from his exile in Brittany, and fought with him at Bosworth.³⁵ This body, attached to the Household (and effectively to the Bedchamber), and placed under the captaincy of the Vice-Chamberlain, was probably modelled on the permanent guards of Scots and Swiss maintained from earlier in the fifteenth century by the Kings of France, and differed from previous bodyguards in England primarily in being given a permanent establishment. Its members wore a uniform distinguished by a large representation of the Tudor rose on the breast. Although the bodyguard would accompany both of the first two Tudor kings on all of their travels, it would not be large enough to be of any real military importance under its founder, as it grew during his reign only from fifty to 156. In fact the first Tudor sovereign showed himself to be much more interested in naval than in military affairs, and devoted much of his considerable energy to building up the merchant marine and through it, the royal navy. Nevertheless, he contented himself very largely with building ships that could be used to defend the kingdom from invasion, and very rarely sent any of them into harm's way.

An essentially conservative king, Henry VII's only significant innovations in the established institutions of his kingdom were in the organisation of his Household (the nature of which I shall examine below) and the strengthening of the jurisdiction of what was commonly called from its meeting place the 'Court of the Star Chamber': that is, the (Privy) Council sitting with the king as a judicial court to deal with matters that were too dif-

³⁵ On the company of the Yeoman of the Guard, see Hennel, *The History of the King's Body Guard*.

ficult for any of the other courts to deal with. The distinctive jurisdiction of this court had grown up gradually since 1341, and had been formally recognised by an act of 1453. By another act of 1487, Henry and his Parliament defined the membership of the court as consisting of seven persons, including the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, or any two of those officers, together with one bishop, one temporal lord, and either the Chief Justices of the two benches or two other justices. This court was to prove very useful for the suppression of civil disturbances, and would be used to good effect by Henry VIII's minister Cardinal Wolsey for forcing through some of his more unpopular policies, but it was not actually a creation of the Tudor régime, as has often been imagined.

Neither Tudor was especially fond of seeking assistance from Parliament, and both summoned that body only when they felt they had to. As a result only sixteen Parliaments were actually summoned in the sixty-two years between 1485 and 1547: seven under Henry VII (in 1485, 1487, 1489, 1491, 1495, 1497, and 1504) and nine under Henry VIII (in 1510, 1512, 1515, 1523, 1529, 1536, 1539, 1542, and 1545).³⁶ Nevertheless, it would not be until 1539 that even the latter king would alter the organisation or authority of Parliament in any way.

Henry VIII was a very different person from his father, both in his upbringing and in his personality, and both of these factors seem to have contributed to his very different policies. He was raised as a king's son in the heart of the royal Household, was showered with nobiliary and official dignities from his infancy, and like his brother was educated in keeping with the new and much higher standards introduced by the Renaissance humanists of Italy. He proved a brilliant pupil in virtually every area, and soon became an accomplished linguist, scholar, musician, poet, composer, athlete, and knight. His accession at the age of eighteen was hailed by such intellectual luminaries as John Colet, Desiderius Erasmus, and Thomas More. Clearly he was given too high an opinion of himself for his own good, and he proved to be a charming but determined bully who could turn quite vicious if any of his desires were thwarted, and a megalomaniac who could not bear anyone to possess anything more important or splendid than whatever of that sort he possessed himself. More than any other factors it was these personal characteristics – combined with the counsel of equally ruthless and even more ambitious men like the parvenus Wolsey and Cromwell – that led him to introduce major changes in the legal relationship of the kingship to the national churches, and comparable but less significant changes in the effec-

³⁶ See Powicke and Fryde, *Handbook*, pp. 534-536.

tive relationship of the kingship to the other branches of the secular government.

Henry was interested from his earliest days in both military and naval affairs, but until late in his reign his innovations in both areas were mainly intended to impress his fellow monarchs with the size and splendour of the more decorative elements of both his army and his navy. Envious of the noble guard maintained by his French neighbour Louis XII, he founded immediately after his accession a comparable body called the 'Gentlemen of Speers' to supplement the corps of yeomen he had inherited from his father.³⁷ In 1520, he would expand the latter body from 126 to 600 immediately before his meeting with Louis's successor Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Otherwise, Henry strongly encouraged the practice of archery among his subjects, and the armies he would lead into France in the decade or so after his accession were not only equipped in a traditional fashion with bow and bill, but recruited and organised in essentially the same way as they had been for more than a century. In fact, England would be virtually untouched by the contemporary technical and organisational advances of the continent until the Restoration of 1660.

Through most of his reign, the new king's approach to naval affairs remained very similar to that of his father, though he did import Italian workmen to improve the quality of his ships, and emulated his continental contemporaries in having built for himself one magnificent vessel to serve as a floating palace (and castle) when he travelled by sea. The ship in question – the *Henry Grace a Dieu*, commonly known in England as the 'Great Harry' – was initially constructed as a carrack in 1514, but completely rebuilt, possibly as a galleon, in 1536-39.³⁸ It was destroyed by fire in 1552. After the dissolution of the monasteries in the later 1530s he poured much of his own share of the income of their redistributed lands to build ships, and by his death his navy was much larger than that of any of his predecessors or any of his successors for a long time. Despite this, it was actually little used before 1588, when it would defeat the great armada sent by Philip II of Spain to conquer England. In fact, Henry's most important contribution to the future of the English navy was of a much more pedestrian nature, and occurred less than a year before his death. By Letters Patent dated 24 April 1546, he consolidated a whole set of existing but disconnected offices into the Navy Office or ('Navy Board' as it was commonly called): a body theoretically

³⁷ This body has also been maintained to the present, but it was reorganised in 1539 and its name was changed to the 'Gentlemen Pensioners'.

³⁸ On the *Henry Grace a Dieu*, see Landström, *Sailing Ships*, pp. 96-99; and Cucari, *Sailing Ships*, p. 80.

subordinated to the office of the Admiral of England, which was to oversee the administration of the material aspects of the navy down to 1832.³⁹

In the first two years after his accession Henry seems to have taken little interest in politics, preferring sports and courtly amusements generally, and happily turned over the business of government to his chief counselors Richard Fox (the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and Bishop successively of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester), and William Warham, (Chancellor from 1501 to 1515 and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1503 to 1532). In 1511 they were both replaced in Henry's trust by Thomas Wolsey, the first of two *novi homines* whom he would raise to great power and then throw down again when he began to become jealous of his prerogatives. Wolsey, a butcher's son who had received an excellent education at Oxford, had become a chaplain of Henry VII in 1507, and had proved himself an able administrator of that king's private affairs. He soon made himself indispensable to the young Henry VIII, who rewarded him with a succession of ever more important benefices, including that of Dean of York, and allowed him to take complete control of affairs, including foreign policy. Wolsey — whose general policy was always to secure a balance of power and to make England the arbiter of the rivalries between the Kings of France and their rivals in Spain and the Empire — at first allied himself with Ferdinand of Aragon and the Pope in the so-called 'Holy League' directed against Louis XII of France. He then encouraged Henry to lead an army into France to take back some of the lands lost under Henry VI. Henry, who had a very traditional attitude towards knightly honour in this period of his life, was only too happy to oblige, invaded northern France in 1512, won the 'Battle of the Spurs' in 1513, and soon took a personal role in the successful sieges of the cities of Thérouanne and Tournai. In the same year, his forces in Scotland won the even more important battle of Flodden, in which the King of Scots was killed, so Henry returned home a hero and heaped honours on all those who had contributed to his victories — especially Wolsey, who had played a major part in the negotiations with the new French king that secured the peace of 1514 and English possession of Tournai. Wolsey was rapidly elevated with Henry's support to Bishop of London and Archbishop of York (in 1514), Cardinal (in 1515), and finally Chancellor, in succession to Archbishop Warham, in the latter year.

It has recently been argued by Thomas Mayer that it was during the process whereby Henry sought to assert his authority over the newly-conquered city of Tournai, and especially over its bishop (whom Henry attempted to

³⁹ The Navy Board consisted of the Lieutenant of the Admiralty, a treasurer, comptroller, surveyor, a clerk of the ships, and two officers without any special title.

replace with Wolsey), that Henry developed some of his ideas about the superiority of royal to papal authority that would later serve as the formal explanations of his decision to reject all papal jurisdiction in England.⁴⁰ David Starkey and John Guy have also argued that Henry borrowed some of his ideas of the rights a king should have over his church from the kingdom of France, to whose laws he was exposed in particular depth in this period.⁴¹ This was natural enough, as he claimed to rule Tournai as the rightful King of France, and claimed within it all of the rights that belonged to the Crown of France. He must certainly have become familiar in this period with the implications of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges – a declaration of Gallican principles issued by the clergy of the Church of France in 1438 while the Council of Basle was still in session – and its successor the Concordat of Bologna of 1516. The former asserted the right of the French Church to administer its temporary property without interference from Rome, and disallowed papal provisions to vacant benefices of all kinds; the latter, a treaty between Pope Leo X and King Francis I of France, restored some papal rights, though only after the failure of royal acts.

It is also clear that Henry began in 1515 to assert his absolute sovereignty in England even against the Pope, anticipating his claim of 1530 that he ‘Never had any superior in England but God alone’, and that he first made a formal use of the *rex est imperator* doctrine described above (which as we have seen was one of the fundamental doctrines of the French monarchy) in an act of 1532 in which he famously declared that ‘This Realm of England is an Empire’.⁴² The documents he exchanged with Leo X by which he attempted to quash the latter’s attempt to oust Wolsey from Tournai also anticipated some of the language later employed to assert his right to govern his national church. He seems to have begun the use of the old term *regalia* (‘royal rights’) and its English derivative ‘regalie’ to mean sovereignty or supreme authority (in such clauses as ‘... the defeating and derogation of our right and prerogative royal within the regalie of our city of Tournai’), and employed such words and phrases as ‘superiority’ and ‘supreme power as lord and king’ with respect to his position in Tournai. There is thus good reason to think that both the general doctrine of sovereignty implied in *rex est imperator*, and the more particular expression of sovereignty over the church expressed in the Pragmatic Sanction and Concordat, contributed in significant ways to Henry’s later decision to seize control of the Church, and that he learned of these primarily during his ultimately successful negotia-

⁴⁰ Mayer, ‘On the Road to 1534’.

⁴¹ Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII*, p. 77.

⁴² Act 24 Henry VIII, c. 12 (1532-3).

tions with the Pope over Tournai. This idea is further supported by the publication in 1531 of an English translation of the *Dialogus inter militem et clericum*, composed to support the claims of the French king Philip IV to complete control over his national church on the basis of the *rex est imperator* doctrine.⁴³

After the death of Louis XII and the accession of his cousin Francis I in 1515, Wolsey (while discouraging the calling of any Parliament for seven years) had continued to play the continental powers against one another to England's advantage, and when both Ferdinand of Aragon (in 1516) and Maximilian of Austria and the Empire (in 1519) were succeeded by their common grandson Carlos I or Charles V, Wolsey used the personal antagonism that soon developed between Charles and Francis I to convince both men to seek an English alliance in 1520: Francis in a splendid manner at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in France, and Charles more privately in England. Unfortunately, Charles's rout of the French army at Pavia in 1525 and his sack of Rome in 1527 fatally undermined Wolsey's foreign policy, and he soon found himself in a domestic situation that was ever more difficult. For Henry had begun in the meantime to take a more active interest in politics, and had begun to become less enamoured of Wolsey's increasingly expensive (and decreasingly successful) policies.

Wolsey's decline had actually begun in 1523 when the Parliament that Henry had finally been obliged to summon to raise subsidies for the war, had refused to grant them, and he had been obliged instead to impose highly unpopular loans. Matters became much worse in 1526, however, when Henry began to press once again for a divorce from Katherine of Aragon. Wolsey did his best to persuade the current pope, Clement VII, to perform this service for his ever more impatient monarch, but given that Charles V hoped his cousin Mary might yet succeed to the throne, and as the pope was in his power, he could not oblige the English monarch in the way he would normally have done.

Wolsey's failure to secure the divorce brought about his immediate downfall in 1529, when Henry was again obliged to summon Parliament, after a gap of six years, and the Cardinal only escaped execution for high treason in 1530 by dying on the way from York to London. His disgrace has been interpreted by historians as the end of an outmoded policy of entrusting the government to clerics, and a victory for a new, anti-clerical faction that had risen in the service of the state. Certainly Henry turned strongly against the clergy as a body in this period, prosecuting them all for treason on the

⁴³ For this development, See Hoak, 'The iconography of the Crown Imperial'.

same dubious grounds as he had prosecuted Wolsey, and only pardoning them in return for a fine in the huge sum of £118,840. He also redistributed the principal offices of his government to laymen, making Sir Thomas More Chancellor in succession to Wolsey in 1529, and Thomas Boleyn, newly-promoted Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, the Keeper of the Privy Seal in succession to the Bishop of London in 1530, and appointing laymen to succeed them in their turn. This was a relatively significant innovation in policy, though there had never been a rule to the effect that such offices should be filled by clerics; moreover, they would be held by clerics again. In reality, the practical distinction between laymen and clerics was far less significant than it has since become, and just as Archbishop Warham had been trained as a lawyer and had served as a judge before he became a bishop, so More could easily have been made a bishop if he had not been married.

Equally important in the present context is that Henry VIII had acquired from Wolsey both a desire to secure complete control of the English Church and a recognition that ruthless assertions of naked power would often cow opponents into submission. He also discovered during the first stages of his search for a divorce and the fall of Wolsey both that the papacy was weak and that the great majority of his subjects disliked not only papal jurisdiction but the privileges still enjoyed by the Church and its various institutions. He therefore decided to embark upon a policy that would, by the same means, secure the divorce he so desperately wanted, and at the same time give him complete and unfettered control over the English Church and its economic resources. It would appear that it was in preparation for this assault on the Church that he began to strengthen and reorganise what was thenceforth officially to be called the 'Privy Council', and to formalise the previously informal statuses of (Lord) President, Privy Councillor, and royal Secretary (though the division of the latter office into those of the classic two Principal Secretaries of State would not be effected until 1540). An act of the Parliament of 1529 also added the President of the Council to the list of officers who could sit in the Court of the Star Chamber, which as we have seen was effectively the judicial committee of the Council. Henry immediately appointed as Lord President his brother-in-law Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk and Great Master of the Royal Household, and the latter would retain the office until his death in 1546.

Henry came to rely increasingly in this period on Wolsey's former deputy Thomas Cromwell, a blacksmith's son who had risen in Wolsey's service since 1514, had served as a member of the House of Commons, and would be promoted to Privy Councillor in 1531, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1533, Secretary of State and the Master of the Rolls (i.e. vice-Chancellor) in 1534, and both Vicar-General of the Church and Lord

Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1535. With Cromwell's able assistance, Henry secured for his new policy the support of the Parliament of 1529 – which he continued to summon for new sessions to 14 April 1536 – in return for his support of its privileges, and his willingness to bend to its collective desires when it disagreed with some element of his programme. Under Cromwell's guidance, Parliament accordingly passed a series of acts that gave the king a progressively greater degree of control over the *Ecclesia anglicana*: first the Acts of Annates and Appeals, and finally that of Supremacy of 1534, which made Henry and his heirs Supreme Head of the Church on earth.

Hardly was this process completed than Henry in 1536 set Cromwell (newly promoted to the peerage as Baron Cromwell of Wimbledon and royal Vicegerent of the Church) the task of rationalising the distribution of religious houses in the kingdom, many of which were very rich, and most of which had long suffered from very small number of members. He issued writs for a new Parliament to achieve these ends in April 1536, and for another Parliament to ratify the process in March 1539. Henry's initial intentions were probably at least partly unselfish, as he announced an intention to use some monastic endowments for the secular church and converting numerous abbey churches into cathedrals for new dioceses. Nevertheless, once Henry realised just how much he stood to gain economically and politically from the annexation of monastic estates to the Royal Demesne and their redistribution to his friends and allies, he abandoned most of those high-minded plans. Between 1536 and 1539, Cromwell dissolved all of the religious houses in the kingdom, including many that were still viable, and only a handful of their churches were converted into cathedrals. Only monastic houses attached to new or existing cathedrals and royal peculiars (like Westminster Abbey) were spared, their clergy being secularised and converted into canons under a dean rather than an abbot. The only major beneficiaries of the Dissolution were therefore the king and his cronies.

It is important here to observe that it was greed for wealth and power that led Henry to dissolve monasteries, just as it had been greed for power over the Church that had led him to secure its separation from Rome. Henry was never a Protestant or even particularly sympathetic to the Protestant doctrines that entered England soon after Luther published his theses in 1517, and gained ground steadily even at the highest levels, especially in the last two decades of his reign. Indeed, Henry had actually written a treatise supporting traditional religious ideas that had led Pope Leo X to honour him in 1521 with the title 'Defender of the Faith', and Henry not only retained this title throughout his life but transmitted it to his heirs. Although he did make moves in the direction of Protestantism after 1530 – principally by authorising and promoting the use of an English translation of the Bible and by issuing the so-called Ten Articles – and even made moves in the direc-

tion of an alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany (leading to his marriage with Anne of Cleves), he pulled back to his original positions in 1539, and issued Six Articles restoring Catholic doctrines on everything except the Papacy. He also deposed and put to death his Protestantising lieutenant Cromwell (whom he had made Lord Great Chamberlain in 1539 and Earl of Essex in 1540), and allied himself with the reactionary, Catholic party in England, led by the Duke of Norfolk, through his marriage with Katherine Howard. Nevertheless, despite periodic attempts to enforce the Six Articles and to remove from office the Protestantising Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer – who had succeeded Warham in that office in 1532, and would play a leading role in introducing the Reformation to England under Edward VI – he allowed his kingdom to drift in the general direction of a Protestant understanding of Christian doctrine.

It should finally be noted that the desire for control and order that Henry had acquired in his dealings with the Church was soon extended to his relationships with Wales, the two Marches, and Ireland – territories of which the status was in different ways anomalous. Wales and its semi-independent March – long technically part of England – were both fully assimilated into the English system of civil government by the Statutes of Wales of 1534-36 and a supplementary act of 1542. Henry also reorganised and revived the Council of the March of Wales that had been created in 1471, and its President from 1534 to '43, Rowland Lee, pursued a vigorous policy of suppressing violence in the region and establishing the new English-style institutions of local government required by the new Statutes. After the suppression of the northern rebellion called the Pilgrimage of Grace, Henry created a comparable body, the Council of the North, to rein in the power of the northern lords. He also gave both councils summary powers of justice, derived from Roman Civil Law rather than English Common Law, and similar to those that had already accrued to the Court of the Star Chamber at Westminster and the analogous Court of the Castle Chamber in Dublin. Thus, on the fringes of his kingdom he gave his officers almost arbitrary powers to establish the order and uniformity of administration that he had come to crave.

In the meantime, from 1535, Henry had turned his attention to his Lordship of Ireland, and although he did not contemplate absorbing it into England as he had done with Wales, in 1540 he decided to do the next best thing, and convert it into a unified kingdom administered uniformly under English law. An act of the Irish Parliament of 1541 proclaimed him to be not only the King of Ireland, but the Supreme Head of the Irish Church, and in an attempt to win over the more important Gaelic chiefs to English ways he conferred earlships on them and endowed them with confiscated monastic lands. Although ultimately unsuccessful, this policy worked well enough while Henry himself was still on the throne, and he no doubt regarded it as

another triumph of his joint policies of asserting the authority of his royal dignity and government, and imposing a uniform administrative system throughout his dominions.

It should finally be noted here that – unlike his father, who retained the formal titlature established by Edward III on having himself proclaimed the king of France in 1340 – Henry VIII made a number of changes in his titlature during the course of his reign. From 1509 to 1521, he used in all contexts his father's titlature *Henricus Dei gratia Anglie et Francie rex et dominus Hibernie*. In 1521, he added after this the new title of *Fidei defensor*, and in 1525 he began to call himself, in imitation of continental custom, *Henricus octavus* or 'Henry VIII', thus initiating a practice that would be maintained by all of his successors. In 1541 he substituted *rex* for *dominus* in his Irish title, and in 1542 he added his titles as head of the two national churches, making his full titlature in English 'Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and also of Ireland on earth the Supreme Head'.⁴⁴ This appeared thenceforth on his seal (in Latin) and in the initial protocol of all of his legal acts (usually in English), and his son Edward would use exactly the same set of titles, but Mary would drop the titles expressing royal supremacy when she repealed the Act of Supremacy in 1554, and it would never be used again.

The visual representation of royal majesty, authority, and identity

As noted above, the legal theory of the day distinguished between the king's 'two bodies': one natural, mortal, and fleshly, and symbolic of the transitory aspects of monarchy, and the other exalted and eternal, and symbolic of sovereign authority that never dies. In practice, however, contemporaries were well aware of the fact that both bodies were necessarily combined in the actual person of the king 'for the time being', and in this person the eternal and public body was always more important than the transitory and private one. A wise king made use of this situation by clothing himself at all times in a manner befitting his exalted estate, and by constantly displaying or having displayed about him emblems, insignia, and symbols that reminded those who were given a sight of him exactly who he was. The first

⁴⁴ See Powicke and Fryde, *Handbook*, p. 39.

two Tudors were wise in this respect, though the second was wiser than his father.⁴⁵

Access to the king's actual person was increasingly limited under the same monarchs to members of their court, and more particularly to the members of their Privy Chamber. The restriction of the royal progress to palaces in and around the capital further limited the exposure of the king's person even at a distance to most of his subjects, and the very limited number of state visits even to London gave the citizens of the capital itself few opportunities to view their sovereign.⁴⁶ These limitations were overcome through the widespread distribution of visible signs of the king, which in the world-view of the period were seen as embodying his public identity, and thus capable of functioning as reasonable substitutes for his presence in most circumstances. Three broad categories of visible sign were thus employed under the early Tudors, all of them inherited from their Plantagenet predecessors, and all of them improved in some way under Henry VIII: (1) iconic portraits or effigies of the king's person, often augmented by insignia and attributes symbolic of some particular aspect of royal authority (latterly representing the new position of Henry VIII as the Supreme Governor of the Church); (2) iconic representations of the insignia of the royal dignity as such and of the attached dignity of Sovereign of the Order of the Garter, detached from such effigies, and employed in the manner of the attributes of Christian saints and Classical deities and heroes; and (3) iconic emblems of the heraldic, para-armorial, and para-heraldic families, often associated with the iconic insignia of kingship. I shall look at each of these types of sign in turn.

Royal portraits

The effigy of the English king, like that of most of his continental equivalents, had since the eleventh century been represented on both the Great Seal of State (where it took the form of full-length portraits) and on many of the coins issued by the royal mint (where the head alone was represented, ensigned with a royal crown). Down to the accession of Henry VII both sigillary and numismatic portraits had always represented the king in a generic manner, without any attempt to indicate the peculiar characteristics of his natural body,⁴⁷ but under that king this practice began to give way to the

⁴⁵ On the development of the royal image and the means of its dissemination, see Starkey, 'Representation through intimacy', and King, 'The Royal Image, 1535-1603'.

⁴⁶ See Anglo, 'Image-making'.

⁴⁷ Piper, *Personality and the Portrait*, pp. 29-31.

modern one of representing the actual appearance of the monarch: a change driven by the Renaissance desire to emulate the practices of Classical Antiquity, and made possible by the improvement in the skills of die-cutters that desire had given rise to earlier in the century.

For reasons that are not clear, but may have had to do with precedents, the change from generic to specific portraits on coins preceded by many years the comparable change on the Great Seal. In fact the former transition had begun in Italy nearly three decades before the accession of Henry VII,⁴⁸ but rather surprisingly it began in England before it began in France. In the latter kingdom the first coin to bear a specific or realistic portrait of the king (and indeed the first to bear any sort of head or bust-portrait for many centuries) was the *teston* of Louis XII, issued in 1513,⁴⁹ but as early as 1501 Henry VII had issued two distinct coins bearing his realistic portrait: the similarly named *testoon* (a piece worth one shilling) and a groat (worth 4d or a third of a shilling).⁵⁰ His son continued to issue comparable coins (and to make further revisions in the traditional design of the coinage generally), but realistic portraiture would not become the norm on English coins until the accession of Edward VI.⁵¹ It is worth noting that the gold coins of both Henrys bore on the obverse a full majesty-portrait comparable to (though different from) that set on the obverse of their Great Seals: an equally novel form of design for English coins (though anticipated in France), but one whose scale did not lend itself to naturalistic representation of the royal face.⁵²

In England the Great Seal had always borne a different effigy on the obverse and reverse. The former depicted him seated in majesty on a throne, wearing the royal crown and mantle, and carrying in his right hand (since 1272) a sceptre and in his left an orb surmounted by a cross; the reverse depicted him as a knight, riding a horse, wearing full contemporary armour with the contemporary version of the royal crest on his helm, brandishing a sword in his right hand and holding a shield of the contemporary royal arms in his left. The two sides of the only Great Seal of Henry VII and the first Great Seal of his son differed only in minor details from those of the seals of their predecessors since about 1340, on which the majesty-portrait had been set into an elaborate Gothic pentiptych framed by traceried canopies, the in-

⁴⁸ King Ferrante I of the Two Sicilies, for example, issued a coin bearing a realistic head-portrait of himself not long after his accession in 1458.

⁴⁹ See Dieudonné, *Manuel de numismatique française*, pp. 308 and 312, fig. 168.

⁵⁰ See Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 291 and pl. xxxvii, no. 1.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, pl. xxxvii-xxxix.

⁵² *Ibidem*, pl. xxxvi, xxxviii.

ner side-panels of which held shields of the royal arms accompanied by lions, and the smaller, outer panels of which were inhabited by standing knights.

The first Great Seal to break with any of these traditions was the second seal of Henry VIII, cut in 1532 and used to 1542.⁵³ On this, the four side-panels of the Gothic frame of the throne were reduced to two, both devoid of figures, and the shields of the royal arms set to either side of the effigy were placed on the field and for the first time surrounded by garters and surmounted by crowns: specifically crowns of the new imperial type that I shall describe below. The portrait of the king, however, was still essentially generic, and it would not be until 1542, when Henry adopted his third Great Seal, that a realistic image would be set in this context. King Louis XII of France had already introduced a realistic image onto his seal in 1514 – the year after he had set a comparable form of image on a coin – so it is hard to understand why Henry VIII did not follow his example until nearly three decades later, especially given the rivalry that still existed between their dynasties and Henry's general desire to be *au courant* with the fashions of the French court. It is significant, however, that the new realistic portrait was associated with a completely new form of throne, of a distinctly neo-Classical architectural type, as this indicates how closely realistic portraiture was associated with Renaissance ideals.

The new – or revived – practice of distributing realistic images of the king on coins and seals must have been related not only to the general cult of Antiquity that increasingly dominated the culture of all of the Latin Christian courts of this period, but more particularly to the practices of collecting (in cabinets) and studying Antique coins and medals (essentially commemorative coins) and other portraits of emperors, kings, and other great men and women, which led both to the revival and transformation of the medal for contemporary uses (especially at the hands of Pisanello) and to the publication of representations of Antique coins and medals as illustrations in historical works (especially Suetonius) from about 1470, and from 1517 in simple compilations modelled on Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium Imagines* of that year.⁵⁴ There can be little reason to doubt that contemporary kings were moved by a desire to have their own likenesses associated with those of illustrious ancients, and to have such likenesses find their way into comparable cabinets and printed works.

⁵³ For a reproduction of this seal, see Pinches and Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England*, fig. 134, p. 140.

⁵⁴ On the publication and use of images of antique coins and medals, see Haskell, *History and its Images*, pp. 13-31.

In addition to the images on coins and seals – which through their multiplication were unquestionably the most familiar to all but the most privileged of their subjects – the first two Tudors also commissioned various portraits by noted sculptors and painters, though as usual the second of them far outstripped the first in this area. Henry VII left one realistic oil painting (probably by Sittow), and both a polychromatic bust and a full-sized silver-gilt effigy for his tomb by Pietro Torrigiano. Henry VIII, by contrast, was represented from his early childhood onwards by numerous artists in various media. Many of the later ones were by the great Netherlandish artist Hans Holbein, who after his discovery by Thomas Cromwell painted a whole series of magnificent portraits of the king. The most important (and famous) of these was a fresco in the Privy Chamber representing Henry surrounded by his parents and children,⁵⁵ but dominating the scene completely, and exuding a rather menacing sense of energy and power.⁵⁶ This portrait, painted in 1537, came to be well known from copies that circulated throughout the kingdom, but in fact Holbein had already represented Henry in a context that was even more widely disseminated: the title page of Coverdale's translation of the Bible, published in the previous year. Holbein's woodcut made for this context represents Henry enthroned at the base of the page, wearing his crown and mantle, holding the sword of justice in his right hand, and marked by a large shield of the royal arms encircled with a garter and surmounted with a closed crown, set at his feet. Before him and to either side of the armorial achievement kneel three bishops on his right and half a dozen lay peers on his left, all in their most formal habits and headgear, and he is depicted handing a copy of the Bible itself to the foremost bishop, presumably meant to be the Primate. An image of King David is set behind the bishops and one of St. Paul behind the lay peers, and the remaining margins are filled with biblical scenes. As one recent historian has written 'This was the visual image of a King, personifying God on earth ...'.⁵⁷

The power of all of these images as symbols or embodiments of the royal majesty can be seen in the reverence with which they seem to have been treated; even the royal portrait on a coin was regarded by some, at least, as a sort of icon in which the king's charisma was embodied.⁵⁸ This was also true of other signs of royal dignity and authority, to which I must now turn.

⁵⁵ See Williams, *Henry VIII and his Court*, p. 162.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 154.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 162.

⁵⁸ See Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy', pp. 45-46.

The royal insignia: formal signs of status and authority

Under the term 'insignia' are included all those visible signs whose function was to mark the status of a person or entity. In the case of the Kings of England, the principal insignia of their status or dignity were the purple mantle with its lining and shoulder-cape of ermine, the orb, sceptres, and swords of state, and the royal, or 'imperial' crown. To these could be added the insignia of the dignity of Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

The Crown Imperial. The first two Tudors completed the process whereby the crown representing the dignity of King of England was converted from a generic open fleuron-crown of the sort that was worn by most Latin Christian kings in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (and by some well into the sixteenth), into a closed crown with distinctive heighteners and one or two high arches arising from them, which was both conceived of and referred to as a 'crown imperial'.⁵⁹ A crown of this type had been adopted by the Emperor Lothar II in 1125, and surmounted with the classic orb-and-cross by his successor Conrad III in 1138, and down to 1414 this general form of crown had continued to be peculiar to the imperial dignity.⁶⁰ Like the use of the related doctrine *rex est imperator*, the use of a closed crown of this new type (quite different from the much older coronation crown of St Edward, which like others of its period had low arches fitting closely to the head) was initiated in England by Henry V at the time of his coronation in 1414, as it appears clearly represented on a panel of the chantry representing that king in the ceremony following his coronation in which he received the homage of the peers. This chantry was ordered in 1415 and its sculptor was hired by the king himself in 1420, so there is good reason to believe in the accuracy of its representation. Very similar crowns are also represented on the heads of Henry V and his son Henry VI in an heraldic manuscript prepared around 1450, and a portrait of the latter king in the initial of the foundation charter of King's College Cambridge (which is also our oldest source for the form taken by ducal and marchional coronets and other insignia) is the old one a different effigy on the obverse and reverse. The former depicted him seated in majesty on a throne, wearing the royal crown and mantle, and carrying alternating with fleurs-de-lys, as distinct from the standard fleurons of the Emperor's own crown and those of most contemporary kings. English court artists continued to depict Henry VI in majesty wearing an old-fashioned archless crown down to 1460, but this may be a result of their reliance on outdated model-books, as may the continued representation of

⁵⁹ On this see Hoak, 'The iconography of the crown imperial'.

⁶⁰ Twining, *European Regalia*, p. 46.

open crowns on the Great Seal to 1470 and on lesser royal seals as late as 1532. The first Great Seal to bear an effigy of the king imperially crowned was the third seal of Edward IV, cut shortly after his restoration in 1471, but both he and his brother Richard III are represented in many other contexts thus distinguished, and there is reason to think that this had long been the normal form of royal crown in England by 1485.

It can hardly be surprising, therefore, that Henry VII adopted the imperial form of crown for his own use, and employed it to the complete exclusion of the older type in his official iconography, at least. He also increased the familiarity of this type of crown and its identification with royal (and therefore 'imperial') authority in England by having it very clearly represented both on his portrait-head and over the shield of his arms that he placed on his new gold coin called the 'sovereign', coined not long after his accession in 1489. Like the very similar *real d'or* issued in 1487 by Maximilian, Archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy and newly-elected King of the Romans, this coin was modelled on the highly successful *enrique* of Enrique IV of Castile, who had died in 1474. Not coincidentally, the commission for the new sovereign was issued on the very day that the Catholic Monarchs (of whom Isabella was the sister of Enrique IV) ratified the treaty by which their daughter Katharina was to marry Henry's son Arthur. Henry VII also had himself represented wearing an arched imperial crown in the profile head-portrait set on the obverse of his silver shilling of 1500-1509, which as we have seen was also the first coin of a northern king to bear a realistic portrait in the Classical tradition.

Dale Hoak has recently demonstrated that Henry VII also employed the iconography of the 'crown imperial' to link his own reign with those of the earlier kings whom he saw as his most worthy predecessors. These included not only the royal saint Edward 'the Confessor', but the heroic Lancastrian Henry V and his pious son Henry VI (whom Henry VII venerated as a martyr), and both the legendary British king Arthur and his supposed ancestor Constantine 'the Great' (whose mother, St Helena, was thought to be British). The link to Constantine was particularly significant, as it gave all of the later British and English kings an imperial inheritance that justified their claim to the crown imperial.

Henry VIII continued and extended his father's use of the crown imperial in all areas of his official iconography, having it represented in every possible context and environment, often on a very large scale. He also altered the traditional royal crest by substituting the arched crown imperial for the open crown on a chapeau that had served as the base since the reign of Richard III, and normalised the practice of setting a crown in place of the crested helm in abridged versions of the royal achievement. As we have seen, such an achievement was set on the obverse of his Great Seal in 1532.

Henry's heralds also systematically distinguished the arched crown imperial of the Kingdom of England from the archless crown they employed in association with the arms of their kingdom of France, and the narrower and lower coronets they displayed over the shields of the many principalities they either held or claimed, both in Wales and in France.⁶¹

Thus, while the Tudors did make a more extensive and systematic use of the crown imperial – and Henry VIII no doubt came increasingly to see it as a sign of his claim to be 'emperor in his own kingdom' – in this area as in so many others they did little more than regularise a practice that had begun many decades earlier.

The collar and garter of the royal order. The Tudors made only one addition to the insignia of the knightly Order of the Garter whose Sovereignty they had inherited from their immediate predecessors:⁶² the new collar adopted by Henry VII to bring the Order's insignia into line with those of the great continental orders of the Golden Fleece (attached to the united court of Burgundy and Austria, and soon to be extended to those of Spain and the two Sicilies) and Saint Michael (attached to the court of France). This collar – composed of Tudor roses surrounded by blue garters alternating with gold love-knots, and holding up an effigy of St George, patron of both the Order and the kingdom — was probably adopted soon after Henry was elected a companion of the Golden Fleece in 1491, and was increasingly worn with the other insignia or 'regalia' of the kingship. Nevertheless, it did not displace the original badge of 1348 – the blue garter itself, bearing the motto HONY SOYT QUY MAL Y PENSE in gold letters – in most iconic contexts, and it was the latter that was included in the abridged version of the royal achievement set to either side of the royal effigy on the obverse of the Great Seals of 1532 and 1542.

The armorial and para-armorial signs of the first Tudor kings

Armoial Emblems and Insignia. I shall begin with the emblems and related insignial signs of the armorial family, which were the oldest and the most

⁶¹ See the representation of Henry surrounded by the crowned arms of his dominions published in Pinches and Pinches, *Royal Heraldry*, p. 138. The shield of France has an open crown heightened with fleurs-de-lys, while those of the Lordship of Ireland, the Duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine, and the principalities of Wales all have narrow coronets heightened with five visible fleurons of equal size.

⁶² On the history of the Order of the Garter, see Bergent and Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter*; Collins, *The Order of the Garter, 1348 1461*. On the orders of the general classes to which this order belonged, including the Garter, see Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*.

important for representing the royal dignity.⁶³ In general it can be said that the first two Tudor kings made no changes whatever in the arms that had been employed to represent the identity and authority of the king in England since the reign of Henry IV (who had merely updated the form of the French quartering adopted by Edward III in 1340), and that both they and their children continued to employ the quarterly coats of France (Modern) and England as their dynastic arms, differenced by their children with precisely the same types of brisure of cadency as had been employed since the time of Edward III. Henry VII also made no changes in the royal crest, whose basic form had similarly been established by Edward III in 1340, and had been modified slightly by Richard III, who had placed an open crown inside the turned-up brim of the cap of estate on which the gold lion of the crest proper stood. Henry VIII, however, eventually modified the crest by converting the open crown into an arched 'crown imperial', identical to the type he used as an insigne of his royal dignity, so that the lion had to stand on its arches rather than the top of the cap. Thus, the Tudors preserved with only minor augmentations the truly armorial emblems they had inherited from their Plantagenet predecessors, and emphasised thereby the essential continuity of their régime. They also preserved the practice begun under Henry V and formalised under the kings of the House of York of setting a pair of their paraheraldic beast-badges to either side of the achievement as 'supporters'. As we shall see, however, they employed for this purpose beasts drawn from their own dynastic repertory, thus distinguishing their achievements from those of their predecessors.

The two Henrys did make significantly more use of the iconic insignia (or signs of status) that had begun to be associated with the shield of the arms in the later fourteenth century: the iconic garter representing membership in that Order set around the shield, and the crown (since 1414 normally of the arched 'imperial' type) set above it. Indeed, they both introduced and regularised the use of an abridged, mainly insignal 'achievement' (as the combination of the shield of arms with other emblems and insignia came to be called under Henry VIII) in which the shield was accompanied by both crown and garter and nothing else – a form that was set on the Great Seals of 1532 and 1542, as we have already noted.⁶⁴ Only the combination of all

⁶³ On the evolution of the royal achievement and its component parts between 1485 and 1783, see Pinches and Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England*, pp. 127-217; Fraser, *The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England*, pp. 156-7, 184-5, 224-25, 240-41; Hasler, *The Royal Arms*.

⁶⁴ On the notion and history of the insignal achievement, see Boulton, 'The Incorporation of the Insignia'.

three elements was new, however, so these practices must be seen as essentially conservative. They also regularised the use at the base of the achievement both of a motto of any sort – like supporters originally a para-heraldic type of emblem – and more specifically of the motto DIEU ET MON DROIT. The latter had been adopted for occasional use earlier in the fifteenth century, so their regularisation of it served to connect them once again to the former dynasty and its claim to the throne of France.

Para-armorial (or livery-) emblems. It was in fact through their choice of distinctive non-verbal para-armorial (or livery-) emblems – in practice their livery-colours and badges and personal cypher – that the Tudors expressed their dynastic identity, along with their claims to royal inheritances.⁶⁵ The Tudor livery-colours, green and white, were probably in origin a variant on the Lancastrian colours of blue and white, which had been maintained by the Beauforts after the extinction of the legitimate line of their house. These colours were fully distinctive of the House of Tudor, and as such were displayed, in horizontal panels, on all of the traditional forms of livery-flag (principally the standard and guidon), and either in vertical panels or horizontal stripes on the newer forms of flag that emerged under their régime (especially the livery-badge banner). They were also displayed on the uniforms of the Household servants, and in various other media.

More often than not, the livery-colours served as the background for the display of one or more of the livery-badges employed by the Tudor monarchs, though the latter were also frequently displayed against other backgrounds. The Tudors maintained two distinct sets of livery-badges: a small set that they made regular use of in many different settings, and a much larger set that was used only when the context permitted the display of emblems indicative of many different ancestral lines. In terms of both form and function, their badges, like badges generally, fell into three classes: plant-badges, object badges, and beast-badges. The only plant-badge in regular use by both of the first two Tudors (and all of their successors) was the double rose, compounded in any of several different ways of the white rose that had been the principal plant-badge of the House of York and the red rose that had been a plant-badge of the House of Lancaster: the combination of the two was an obvious symbol of the union of the two branches of the old dynasty in the new one. The ‘Tudor rose’ as this red-and-white type is

⁶⁵ On paraheraldic emblems, see Pastoureau, ‘Aux origines de l’emblème’; Boulton, ‘Insignia of Power’. See also Evans, *Pattern: A Study of Ornament in Western Europe from 1180 to 1900*, pp. 94-113; Palisser, *Historic Devices*; Fox-Davies, *Heraldic Badges*; London, *Royal Beasts*; Beaune, ‘Costume et Pouvoir en France à la fin du Moyen Age’.

called, was in fact one of the most prominent emblems of the dynasty throughout its history, and was sometimes represented on a huge scale. Both kings also on occasion displayed a fleur-de-lys in token of their claim to France.

The most important object badges used by the Tudors were: (1) the crowned portcullis, sometimes associated with the motto ALTERA SECURITAS to form an impresa (possibly intended as a pun on their name, being a second door or 'two-door'); (2) the sunburst of Edward III (perhaps a pun on Windsor as 'winds, Or'); (3) flames of fire strewn on the field (used exclusively on their standards); and (4) the ostrich-feathers of the sons of Edward III, especially Edward 'the Black Prince' of Wales, which were now confined to the Prince of Wales and displayed in a set of three enfiling an open crown over the first prince's motto 'Ich dien'. Of these, the most important was the portcullis, ultimately converted into the badge of Parliament.

The most numerous and important class of badges employed by the Tudors, however, were beasts. The displayed in some architectural settings a very extensive set of beasts inherited from virtually every line of the royal house of the last century and a half, but made frequent use only of three: (1) the gold lion of England, symbolic of their claim to be the heirs of the Plantagenets of the senior line; (2) the red dragon of Cadwalladr, Prince of Wales, symbolic of their claim to be descended in the male line from the royal dynasty of their native people, and through them from King Arthur and the Emperor Constantine 'the Great'; and (3) the white greyhound 'of Richmond', symbolic of their own line of that dynasty, associated with the earldom of Richmond in the March of Scotland. All three of these beasts were employed as supporters to the royal arms in various combinations throughout the reigns of the first two Tudors, in the fashion indicated above.

Although the use of cryptic letters and pairs of letters had been widespread throughout the fifteenth century, Henry VII seems to have been the first English king to make regular use of a nominal cipher, and to have initiated the practice of setting the royal cipher representing his personal name and title in what would become its most usual place in the achievement, to either side of the crown or crest. In fact, in recognition of the fact that his claim to the throne depended on his marriage to the heiress of the old dynasty, Elizabeth Plantagenet of York, he sometimes set his cipher (HR) to the dexter and her cipher (ER) to the sinister.⁶⁶ His successors would normally use only their own cipher in this fashion, setting their own initial on the dexter and the 'R' of 'Rex' or 'Regina' on the sinister. The presence of

⁶⁶ See the representations of his achievement in Hasler, *The Royal Arms*, p. 176.

the cipher personalised the achievement as a whole, as the first letter referred not to a generic dignity common to all kings but to the personal name of a particular king.

Thus, although different in detail and in some respects more orderly, the emblematic usages of the Tudor kings – like so many of their other practices – were essentially very similar to those of their predecessors on the throne.

Para-heraldic emblems In addition to these livery-emblems, the English kings had since the thirteenth century made use of what remained para-heraldic forms of emblem, as they were never more than loosely associated with the arms. These consisted of the effigies and the arms or attributes of the patron saint of the kingdom, including St Edward the Confessor, St Edmund the Martyr, and St George the Martyr. Both effigies and attributes of these and other celestial patrons continued to be used throughout our period, but from 1415 the most important of the patrons was clearly St George, and it was his distinctive attribute – the red cross on white that constituted his arms – that was used as the emblem of England both on flags (including patronal banners and the livery-standards and livery-guidons of all English captains from the king downwards) and on the uniforms of English soldiers. The Tudors maintained this practice, at least with respect to flags, and would eventually combine the red cross of St George with their own livery-colours in the earliest version of the ensign that would become the distinctive naval flag of the kingdom.⁶⁷ The use of the effigy of St George survived Henry VIII mainly in the context of the collar of the Order of the Garter adopted by his father, as it did not sit well with Protestant sensibilities, but it would later be revived on an even grander scale than previously.⁶⁸

The first Tudor kings and the English nobility

Before turning to a discussion of the Tudor court as such, it will be useful to sketch briefly the contemporary state of the societal estate whose members always played a leading role in its affairs, as they did in the government of the realm. I refer of course to what is once again termed by historians of the period the ‘nobility’,⁶⁹ including not only the lay *peerage* that constituted its

⁶⁷ On English marine flags, see Wilson, *Flags at Sea*.

⁶⁸ On the cult of St George, see Riches, *St George*, and a forthcoming study by Jonathan Good.

⁶⁹ It has become increasingly fashionable in recent years to employ the word ‘nobility’ in an English context to designate the societal estate analogous to those continental estates traditionally designated by that word in Anglophone historiography. This is a logical development, since it makes ‘nobility’ a useful term for general and

highest stratum (under the Royal House itself) – and to which the words of the ‘noble’ family were increasingly restricted in ordinary usage in England from about 1470 – but that much larger stratum below it whose members were increasingly distinguished by the formerly *synonymous* (and still more *general*) titles ‘gentle’, ‘gentles’ and their cognates (though the collective nouns ‘gentility’, ‘gentry’, and ‘gentlefolk’ now applied to them are not attested until 1577, 1585, and 1594 respectively).⁷⁰ Significantly, the general structure of the nobility of England did not change at all under the Tudors, but remained exactly what it had become by 1440, when Henry VI had introduced the new dignity of viscount, and to a very great extent what it had become by 1399, when Henry IV had usurped the throne from Richard II. Furthermore, its dominant culture – though increasingly influenced by the sophisticated ideas of Renaissance humanism, and moving towards the ideals of the courtier and royal servant and away from those of the autonomous lord and knight – would remain deeply imbued with the traditional ethos of chivalry and its heraldic trappings to the end of the Tudor dynasty in 1603, and would continue to play a significant role in the life of the upper nobility and the royal court until the Glorious Revolution of 1688/9.⁷¹ And down to 1625, at least, the notion would persist that the status of knight was the status on which the functional character of the nobility as an order and estate was principally defined, so that all members of the estate ought at least to know about and appreciate all aspects of knightly culture, and those who could ought to practise traditional knightly skill in the tournament or joust, which continued to be held in England (albeit in an ever more attenuated form) until the death of the first Stuart king, James VI and I.

comparative discourse, and reduces the kinds of confusion that have long arisen from the restriction of the term in an English or British context to the peerage: a small, élite substratum of the nobility in the broader and more normal sense that has no precise analogue outside the British Isles. On the English nobility as a whole in this sense in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages*, and Pugh, ‘The Magnates, Knights, and Gentry’.

⁷⁰ On the English gentry, see esp. Mingay, *The Gentry*; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*; Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700*; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, esp. chapt. 5; Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry*. For a wider view, see Jones, ed, *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe*.

⁷¹ On the importance of heraldic and chivalric display on the eve of the Tudor accession, see the essays in Coss and Keen, eds, *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, esp. the essays by Keen, Coss, Ailes, and Saul. On the persistence of chivalric culture in the sixteenth century, see the essays in Anglo, ed, *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, esp. those by Morgan, Gunn, and Llewellyn. See also McCoy, *The Rights of Knighthood*.

The notion that the king himself was the chief knight of the kingdom and ought to act as a model of chivalrous virtue seems to have emerged in England under the crusader-king Richard I 'Lionheart' at the end of the twelfth century, but was much further developed first under Edward I — who not only adopted the military saint George of Lydda as one of the patrons of his kingdom, but was the first king to claim the inheritance of his 'predecessor' 'King' Arthur, whose Company of the Round Table had legendarily established the standards of true chivalry — and then under his grandson Edward III. The last of these had shown himself the worthy heir of Arthur by founding an order of knighthood based on the Round Table and restricted to the most chivalrous knights (the Order of the Garter), and placed under the patronage of St George, exemplar of chivalry in the Court of Heaven. Edward III's great-grandson Henry V, son of the usurper Henry of Lancaster, had promoted the Order in various ways after his miraculous victory over the French of 1415, including attaching the new office of 'Principal King of Arms' to it and giving new statutes, and had also exalted the feast of its patron St George to the first rank and effectively made him the principal patron of his kingdom.

The significance of all of this here is that the personal culture and value-system of English kings throughout the Earlier Traditional Epoch had been inseparable from that of the noble estate as a whole, and that kings had been expected throughout that period — and generally expected themselves — to live up to the highest expectations of a code that demanded a high level of personal courage, prowess, and a concern both with *deserving* and *expecting* expressions of honour appropriate to one's rank and accomplishments, and with *asserting* and *defending* one's honour and any rights one had acquired, whether by inheritance or otherwise. As we have seen, Henry VIII in particular saw his position in these traditional chivalric terms, and they provided an important part of the motivation of his actions throughout his reign, including his decision to take control of the national church.

Down to 1485, most English kings had also acted as the natural leaders of the noble estate to which by birth and function they belonged, and had associated with the greater nobles, whether in their court or on campaign, on terms approaching equality. Or to put it more precisely, they had maintained the comforting fiction (supported by their common identification with the status of knight and participation in the cult of chivalry) that the dignity of king differed more in degree than in kind from the nobiliary dignities of prince, duke, marquess, and so forth, and stood at the summit of a hierarchy of such lordly dignities that were all marked with similar forms of insignia

which themselves differed only in *degree* from those of the kingship,⁷² and whose incumbents (like their clerical equivalents the archbishops, bishops, abbots and abbesses, priors and prioresses) maintained households⁷³ and retinues⁷⁴ and lived in palatial dwellings⁷⁵ that were essentially reduced versions of that of the king himself. The increasingly elaborate rituals that had come to surround the life of the king and his immediate family – since the accession of Edward IV in 1461 inspired to some extent by those maintained by the Dukes of Burgundy, whose court was cynosure of Latin princes generally in the fifteenth century⁷⁶ – had also been imitated in increasingly simplified forms on lower levels of the hierarchy, and the armorial emblems through which royal identity and territorial claims were visually proclaimed were merely grander versions of those employed by all members of the nobility, down to the humblest gentleman and gentlewoman.

Demands of space permit only a very cursory account of the English nobility under the first two Tudors, and one that concentrates on the formal relationships between the kings and their noble subjects. Although the English nobility differed from most continental nobilities in lacking any substantial or lucrative privileges, from the perspective of the Crown, at least, membership in it was every bit as clearly defined in law. Since the early fifteenth century, the heralds of England and France had maintained that the distinctive characteristic of noble status was armigery⁷⁷ – the recognised use of heraldic arms – so that the body of *nobles* or *gentles* (called *nobiles*, *gentiles* and *generosi* in contemporary Latin) was coterminous with the body of what are now called ‘armigers’.⁷⁸ Henry V had even issued an edict that appeared to terminate the traditional right to assume a new coat of arms, and

⁷² On the insignia associated with the grades of the peerage in England, see Powell and Wallis, *House of Lords*, pp. 549-550 *et passim*; Boulton, ‘Headgear of Nobiliary Rank’.

⁷³ On noble households in England in the immediately preceding period, see Mertes, *The English Noble Household 1250-1600*; Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*.

⁷⁴ On noble retinues, see Huse-Dunham, *Lord Hasting's Indentured Retainers, 1461-1483*; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399*; Bellamy, *Bastard Feudalism and the Law*.

⁷⁵ A complete survey of lordly dwellings in general has been undertaken by Emery in *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300-1500*.

⁷⁶ Edward had spent some time at the court of Burgundy, and his sister Margaret had married one of the dukes.

⁷⁷ This is a new but convenient name for the condition in question.

⁷⁸ *Armiger* ‘arms-bearer’ was in England the traditional Latin equivalent of ‘squire’ and ‘esquire’, but by 1600 had come to designate all persons with the right to bear heraldic arms.

had delegated to his principal heralds, the one national and two regional kings of arms, the rights both to determine whether arms currently borne by an English subject were licitly borne, and to grant new arms to men (or corporate bodies) they found to be worthy.⁷⁹ In effect, this transferred to the three principal heralds or 'kings of arms' (Garter, Norroy, and Clarenceux) the royal right to ennoble, and in practice ennoblement in England was thenceforth effected exclusively through the grant of a coat or arms and the secondary emblems associated with them, rather than by a separate instrument that might or might not confer arms, as was the case in most continental countries.⁸⁰ The activities of the heralds in these areas grew steadily under the first Tudors, who treated them as experts in all formal aspects of nobiliary identity and status. Indeed, Henry VIII in 1530 asserted in an unprecedented fashion his and their authority over membership and rank in the nobility when he ordered the first of a continuous series of 'heraldic visitations' of a set of counties, in which the heralds were to visit every house, church, and body that displayed arms or might be expected to do so.⁸¹ The Tudor heralds not only recorded more armorial bearings than all of their predecessors, but granted steadily growing numbers to men of humble origins who had achieved an education, an income, and a position in society sufficiently elevated that they could be accepted as 'gentlemen'. Aside from a greatly elevated prestige in society at large, the status of gentleman and its female equivalent were the minimal statuses required for appointment to a substantial number of positions in the Royal Household, including all of the more elevated positions and most of those that gave direct access to the king. The social world of the king was thus a world peopled almost entirely by gentlemen, and permeated by their culture.

Since about the reign of Henry V, 'simple gentleman' and 'simple gentlewoman' had constituted the lowest rank in the lower order of the English nobility, and persons of this rank soon made up the vast bulk of the order as a whole. The income tax returns of 1436 indicate that there were approximately 5,000 minor landowners in England, most of them gentlemen, with

⁷⁹ For this, see Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 123-180

⁸⁰ On ennoblement by letters patent in France, for example, see Bloch, *L'Anoblissement en France au temps de François Ier*; Rogozinski, 'Ennoblement by the Crown and Social Stratification in France 1285-1322'; Lucas, 'Ennoblement in Late Medieval France'.

⁸¹ See Wagner, *Heralds & Heraldry*, pp. 100-120.

incomes under £20 a year;⁸² the number seems to have been approximately the same in 1500,⁸³ and probably grew only slowly in the sixteenth century.

Above the simple gentlemen in the hierarchy of the lower nobility were men of three ranks historically related to the status of *knight*: a dignity that had long served as the ideal functional status of the noble estate, and that continued to do so under the Tudors. The lowest rank was that of 'esquire' (Latin *armiger*), which had traditionally designated a knight in training. It was held primarily by men who possessed the lordship of one or more manors or comparable landed estates, and formed part of the political community of their county. It has been estimated that the 'gentry' around 1400 as a whole included between 2300 and 2500 adult males, almost equally divided between knights and esquires, and that by the tax-year 1436 there were still about 1200 esquires in England, with incomes between £20 and £40 a year.⁸⁴ They made up the great majority of what would soon be called the 'county' or 'landed gentry', standing between the 5000 *mere* gentlemen (many of whom had fallen from their ranks in the interim), and the now less numerous knights. By 1500, however, it has been estimated by G. A. Mingay that the number of esquires in the kingdom had fallen to around 800: a mere eighth of the nobility as a whole, whose numbers he estimates at around 6400.⁸⁵

Immediately above the esquires were the 'knights bachelor', upon whom had been conferred the basic form of the status of knight (contemporary Latin *equus auratus*, Anglo Norman *chivaler*).⁸⁶ This dignity could only be acquired by a formal act of dubbing,⁸⁷ either by the king himself or in time of war or in Ireland – by a major royal lieutenant like the marshal of the royal army or the Lord Deputy, and this required either signal service to the Crown, the achievement of a high office, or birth as the eldest son of a peer. Given-Wilson estimated that by 1400 the number of knights in England without a higher dignity was comparable to the number of esquires, though

⁸² See Gray, 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436'.

⁸³ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*; Given-Wilson, *Nobility*, p. 71.

⁸⁵ See Mingay, *The Gentry*, p. 4.

⁸⁶ On the history of the English knightage to 1400, see Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England 1000 [sic]-1400*.

⁸⁷ On the history of this word and the forms taken by the act of dubbing, see Boulton, 'Classic Knighthood as Nobiliary Dignity'. I dealt with the next period in 'The Knighting of the Territorial Dignitaries of England in the Classic Phase, 1272-1399', already presented in the form of papers, but as yet unpublished. I am currently working on studies of the same practice to 1603, and have already done the groundwork for those studies.

other sources indicate that it had probably fallen below 1000 at that date. The tax-returns of 1436 indicate a number just below 1000 for that year, and G. A. Mingay estimated that by 1500 the number of knights might have fallen to around 500.⁸⁸ This is possible, given that 295 are recorded as having been dubbed under Henry VII (a rate of twelve a year on average), but the number must have rebounded to around 1000 again under Henry VIII, as 971 men are recorded as having received the accolade in England during his reign (a rate of twenty-five a year), and the records are probably not complete. In practice, the numbers of those knighted varied greatly from year to year in our period, from one to 62 under the former king, and from one to 196 under the latter.⁸⁹ These rates were not very different from those of their immediate predecessors, so far as they are known, but it would appear that both the number of knights and their proportion of the total population of England grew substantially during Henry's reign, approaching the numbers under Edward III.

Above the knights bachelor, and still below the peerage, were a corps of at least fifty or sixty knights who had been promoted to the higher dignity of knight banneret,⁹⁰ which traditionally required enough wealth in land to maintain a company of men-at-arms in the king's service. Henry VII promoted fourteen men to the dignity of banneret before and after the Battle of Stoke-on-Trent in 1487, and fourteen more at the battle of Blackheath in 1497, and his Lieutenant Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and future Duke of Norfolk, promoted ten during a foray into Scotland in September of the latter year.⁹¹ Henry VIII created twenty-eight bannerets in 1513, probably at the Battle of the Spurs in France, but this is the last reference to such a creation in his reign, and the fate of the dignity is uncertain.⁹²

Most knights encountered the king at least once in their lives, and those elected to Parliament might do so several times, but only one category of mere knights was treated to the king's company on an annual basis: the knights who had been elected as one of the twenty-five Companions of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.⁹³ Founded as we have seen by Edward III in 1348/9, and since the dissolution of the Order of the Band in 1350 the

⁸⁸ Mingay, *The Gentry*, p. 4.

⁸⁹ For a list of the recorded dubbings of knights bachelor in this period, see Shaw, *The Knights of England*, vol. II, pp. 22-58.

⁹⁰ On the earlier history of this dignity, see Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain*, pp. 114-119.

⁹¹ For these promotions see Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. II, pp. 24, 28, 31.

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 36.

⁹³ A list of the Knights Companions in our period is in Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. I, pp. 17-23.

oldest surviving monarchical order of knighthood in Latin Europe, the Order was a sort of club of nobles, distinguished by a combination of high birth, chivalrous achievement, and loyal service to the Crown. Its Companions wore their garter and at least a simplified version of the Order's collar whenever they appeared in public, and under the first Tudors they increasingly set an iconic garter around the shield of their arms wherever it was displayed, so that their membership in the Order was more clearly marked than any other nobiliary dignity on a daily basis. During the Order's annual feast in early May, and on some other especially solemn occasions, they also wore the great blue mantle and habit of the Order, which set them off even more clearly from all nobles excluded from their fraternity. While simple knighthood was relatively widely distributed within the peerage and upper gentry in our period, membership in the Order of the Garter – regarded as the highest honour at the disposal of the king and a mark of his special favour – was much more narrowly conferred, and was largely reserved for men of very high birth and rank.⁹⁴ Exactly ninety men were admitted to the Order of the Garter in the sixty-two years between 1485 and 1447, only thirty of whom were mere knights at the time of their admission, and only twenty-two of whom had not been promoted to a higher rank at their death.

Above the mere Knights of the Garter in the nobiliary hierarchy were the greater nobles most clearly distinguished by the generic title 'peer' that they had borne from 1321, and collectively by the derivative noun 'peerage', first attested in this sense in 1454.⁹⁵ Although it superficially resembled the upper stratum of the nobilities of most of contemporary Latin Europe, the English peerage was in fact a type of nobiliary order peculiar to the three realms of the British Isles, as it was a strictly Parliamentary body made up of (and limited to) *all* those English subjects who enjoyed any of the six parial⁹⁶ dignities of baron (*baro*), viscount (*vicecomes*), earl (*comes*), mar-

⁹⁴ For a complete list of the knights admitted as Companions of the Garter in our period, see Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. I, pp. 17-23.

⁹⁵ The word 'peerage' is first attested as a designation for the peers collectively only in 1454, and was not applied to the status or dignity of peer until 1671. For the latter notion, the oldest word is in fact the one I prefer, 'peership', attested from 1577. I prefer the suffix '-ship' for all terms designating the status of the person to whose title it is annexed; thus 'peership', 'princeship', 'dukeship' and so forth. I reserve the alternative forms to designate the corresponding territorial jurisdictions, if any: thus 'principality/princedom', 'duchy' dukedom', 'marquisate', and so forth.

⁹⁶ As there was no traditional adjective to indicate a relationship to the peerage and the status of peer, I adopted the existing word 'parial' for that purpose in my own work some years ago. In ordinary usage, 'peerage' is used adjectivally for this purpose, as well as to designate both the status of peer and the whole body of peers.

quess (*marchio*), duke (*dux*), and prince (*princeps*).⁹⁷ Although they were formally referred to as the ‘Lords Temporal’ of the realm, and in practice all of them certainly enjoyed the lordship of a more or less extensive number of *manors*, their dignities were with few exceptions strictly personal rather than territorial, and even those whose titles (such as Duke of York and Earl of Warwick) implied a territorial jurisdiction normally lacked any significant association with the lands in question. In fact, only the dukeships of Cornwall and Lancaster and the palatine earlships (or countships) of Lancaster and Chester – all restricted to the king or his heir apparent – conveyed anything resembling the kind of authority normally associated with continental dignities of the same names. Indeed, all of the generic vicecomital and baronial titles were attached to the surname of their first recognised holder rather than to the name of his principal estate. Although territorial baronies still existed in law, since 1399 their lords had ceased to use the title ‘baron’ unless they were also members of the peerage, while peers did not need to hold even a fraction of a territorial barony to be regarded as barons.

In fact, the peerage had been created by a series of royal writs summoning them personally to attend particular parliaments as members of its upper chamber, all of whose members were selected in this way, and had become an hereditary order only through the fossilisation of the list of those who were to be summoned in the reign of Richard II. In practice, those summoned had always included all of the holders of the higher dignities of earl or count (from 1283), prince (from 1301), duke (from 1337), marquess (from 1385 and continuously from 1443), and viscount (from 1440), and down to 1377 had included all those barons and knights banneret that the king had seen fit to summon. The members of the last two categories had finally fallen together under the higher title of baron in 1399, and ‘baron’

⁹⁷ On the history of the peerage as an element of the Parliament of England, see especially Powell and Wallis, *House of Lords*. On the lords as a social order, see McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*; Rosenthal, ed, *Nobles and the Noble Life*; Bernard, *The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility*. Several prosopographical dictionaries of the peerage are still useful for identifying and tracking the career of the peers of our period: Courthope, *The Historic Peerage of England*, which includes the succession to every parial dignity of every rank, and to the feudo-dominical baronships that underlay some of them; Doyle, *The Official Baronage of England*, which has tabular biographies of all peers of the rank of viscount or above to the time of publication, but omits the barons; Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, by far the best and most compendious account, covering the same ground as Nicolas in more detail, but omitting much of the career information found in Doyle; Powicke and Fryde, ‘Dukes, Marquesses and Earls (England), 1066-1714), in: *Handbook*, pp. 413-456, a much briefer and more limited catalogue.

thereafter meant 'peer of the lowest rank'. In practice most kings before 1485 had conferred dignities of all ranks quite sparingly, and the number of peers at each rank had tended to fluctuate sporadically rather than to grow or shrink in any sustained manner.

The first two Tudors and their officers made no really substantive alterations either in the nature or the size of the parliamentary peerage, but they did both add and subtract from its numbers to make sure that their adherents were rewarded and their opponents punished, in keeping with a policy that they introduced for the peerage as a whole. They seem also to have made a conscious effort to restore the three lost grades to the hierarchy, and to distribute dignities of all five of the lower grades to keep the numbers in each one at a reasonable level. Altogether they conferred or restored between them the one *princeship*⁹⁸ twice (Wales in 1489 and 1503); seven *dukeships* (Bedford and Buckingham in 1485, York in 1494, Norfolk and Suffolk in 1514, Somerset and Richmond in 1525); four *marquesships* (Dorset in 1485, Berkeley in 1489, Exeter in 1525, and Pembroke in 1532); twenty-six *earlships* (including only three first created under the Plantagenets – Stafford in 1485, Rutland in 1525, and Wiltshire in 1510, 1529, and 1550 – and five wholly new ones: Bath in 1486, Cumberland in 1525, Sussex in 1529, Southampton in 1537, and Bridgwater in 1538); five viscountships (Beaumont restored in 1485, Lisle restored in 1513 and regranted in 1523 and 1542, and Rochford created in 1525); and finally twenty-two baronships (whose names are too numerous to rehearse here). The numbers of higher dignities conferred were not noticeably greater than in some earlier reigns or sets of reigns of comparable length, but the number of new baronships created was much greater than in any period since the crystallisation of the parial baronage in 1399.

Nevertheless, Henry's treatment of the peerage as a body had not differed greatly from that of his immediately predecessors, and it is significant that if only four of the *higher* peers held their dignities as the heirs of men who had done so before the usurpation of 1399, fully nineteen of the other forty-four peers attending the Parliament of 1539 – almost half – did so as the heirs of men summoned to sit among the barons at some time between 1283 and 1377. Furthermore, while he did create an unprecedented number of new baronial dignities, and raise an unprecedented number of men into

⁹⁸ The terms for the individual dignities or statuses of the peers were at first quite unstable, and words with several different suffixes (*kingship*, *dukedom*, *marquisate*, *barony*) eventually came to be used in ordinary usage, but the forms in *-ship* are more suggestive of their common nature, and distinguish them clearly from their territorial equivalents.

the peerage, all but one of these (Thomas Cromwell) had been of noble birth, and the great majority of them had already attained the rank of knight before their elevation. In effect, therefore, he did little more than raise the numbers of peers of all ranks closer to their historical maxima.

The royal court and household under the first Tudors

Having examined the composition of the courtly class and its formal relationships with the king, I can turn to an examination of the royal court itself: the institution within which the kings and their intimates spend most of their lives. It was also the institution to which – as recent studies have revealed – the self-presentation of the first two Tudor monarchs was almost entirely carried out, in a mainly symbolic way, through dress, ornament, and ritual, and where alone the kings mingled on a daily basis with most of the members of the nobility and higher clergy.⁹⁹

It must first be said that the courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII were essentially similar in both their form and their function to those of their immediate predecessors on the English throne, Edward IV and Richard III, and their functions continued to be what they had long been. Their primary function, performed by the household that stood at the core of the court, was to provide for the daily needs of the king and his family in a fashion suitable to persons of the highest social rank in a deeply hierarchical society, while at the same time facilitating the display of the king's personal vigour and virtues, both Christian and chivalric, his cultivated and fashionable tastes, and his vast wealth, munificence, and generosity. The courts of this period also continued to perform the closely related functions of protecting and enclosing the king in order to limit the access to his person of persons who for one reason or another were regarded as unworthy, displeasing, or dangerous, while at the same time, through various ceremonies and rituals – religious and governmental no less than domestic and chivalric – placing the king very firmly at the centre and summit of the social hierarchy of the kingdom, and through the distribution of offices – centred in the court but extending

⁹⁹ The early Tudor court and household, long virtually ignored by historians as a discrete subject of research, has like other courts attracted a good deal of attention since 1987. The principal works published to date on the subject are: Loades, *The Tudor Court*: my principal source); Starkey, 'Introduction', and 'Intimacy and Innovation'; *idem*, ed, *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*; *idem*, 'Court, Council, and Nobility in Tudor England'; Guy, ed, *The Tudor Monarchy*, esp. Sydney Anglo, 'Image-making'; Starkey, 'Representation through intimacy', and Gunn, 'The courtiers of Henry VIII', and finally Adamson, ed, *The Princely Courts of Europe 1500-1750*, pp. 95-118.

into the countryside – maintaining his position at the centre and summit of the political and administrative hierarchies of the state.

The role of the royal court as the centre of the political, administrative, military, and cultural life of England had already been firmly established by 1485, and if its importance was further increased in some of these areas between that date and 1547, it was not fundamentally altered except towards the end of the period, when the secondary centres that had long functioned as rivals in the patronage of scholarship and the arts, at least, went into a steep decline. Despite the emergence of new governmental institutions like the Privy Council and the Permanent Secretaryships attached to the ‘government’, recent scholarship has shown that the distinction between ‘government’ and ‘court’ remained as blurred as it had been since the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West. This has become clear from the fact that the same set of men continued to hold a large (if constantly shifting) set of both household and governmental offices, and the fact that the offices of the household continued through most of the period to be housed in the same buildings (and often the same rooms) as those of the state. Even the changes in the government of the Church and the suppression of the religious orders can have had relatively little effect on the court, which had never had many religious members, and continued to have numerous secular clerics – if perhaps fewer bishops – attached to it.

The core of the royal court was always what has long been termed the royal Household, meaning essentially the whole body of royal servants who served the king in some domestic capacity, and lived in constant or near-constant attendance upon his person during his regular peregrinations. While a distinctive form of royal household had developed in England under the House of Wessex, its divisions and offices had been replaced after the Conquest of 1066 with a new set, derived in part from those of the Duchy of Normandy, and based directly or indirectly on those of the contemporary King of France. It was from this thoroughly French household established by William ‘the Conqueror’ that those of his successors to the present day would descend. And because the Capetian household was derived from that of the Carolingians, so the true ancestor of the English household after 1066 was that of Charlemagne rather than that of Alfred the Great.

The Carolingian ancestry of the Household was reflected in the names and functions of many of the units into which it was divided, and in the titles given to the officers placed over and within those units. It should be noted that the household as a whole was called in Latin the *domus regis* (from c. 1115) or *domus regia* (from c. 1178), or *hospitium regis* (from the thirteenth century), and that these terms alternated with one another down to about 1550. From 1387 it was normally designated in English by the new word *househo(u)ld(e)*, ‘household’, which is first attested only five years earlier in

a closely related sense, and that name has been retained to this day. The court was essentially the household augmented by long- and short-term guests of the king who were attending on him for some reason or other, either at their instigation or his.

The basic organisation of the Household of the last Plantagenet kings, like that of their court, was derived directly from those of William the Conqueror and Charlemagne, and still bore a close general resemblance to the former. Of course it had changed gradually over the centuries through the addition of new offices and departments and the suppression or separation from the household of some of the older ones, but its principal structures and functions had remained essentially the same.¹⁰⁰ Most of the elements of the later household seem to have been in place by the death of Edward III – the common ancestor of all of the later kings – in 1377, but it had fallen into considerable decay during the weak kingship of Henry VI, so that his supplanter Edward IV had found it necessary both to restore its more important functions and to rationalise its organisation somewhat through a new household ordinance: the so-called *Black Book of the Household*.¹⁰¹ As the organisation established by this ordinance was both inherited and largely maintained by Henry VII, and only formally altered by Henry VIII in 1526, it will be useful to review its general characteristics here.

The household was always divided into a number of departments dedicated to particular tasks or sets of related tasks, all of which were associated with particular rooms or sets of rooms within the physical structure of the royal palaces: essentially the Hall (Latin *Aula*, French *Salle*), the Chamber (Latin *Camera*, French *Chambre*), the Stable (Latin *Stabulum*, French *Estable*), and their associated structures. These departments, like the rooms to which they were attached, had proliferated over the centuries, and from the reign of Edward IV onward they were divided into two primary divisions, administered quite independently of one another. The primary divisions were what are usually described as the ‘Outdoor Departments’, traditionally associated with the Stables, and the ‘Indoor Departments’ or ‘Household’ proper, associated with the Hall and the Chamber and the minor departments attached to each of those. The importance of these divisions, their own subdivisions, and the officers placed at their heads, depended on their closeness to the person of the king on a daily basis, so the order ran from outside to inside, and then from the Scullery to the Chamber.

¹⁰⁰ On princely courts in northern Europe generally in this period, see Vale, *The Princely Court*.

¹⁰¹ See Myers, *The Household of Edward IV*.

The Outdoor Departments, which included the Stables, the Kennels, and the Toyles (i.e., the department concerned with falconry), were under the general supervision of the Master of the Horse, technically the head of the Stables, and as such originally the deputy to the Constable and the Marshal – whose offices had come to be detached from the Household and converted into great offices of state, always held by great princes.¹⁰² The Mastership of the Horse, by contrast, was an office of moderate dignity, always given to a knight who was also a member of the innermost set of the servants of the Chamber.¹⁰³ In fact, Charles Brandon, future Duke of Suffolk and Marshal but then only a Knight of the Body to the king, was appointed to the office in 1513 — the same year he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Lisle. His uncle, Sir Thomas Brandon, had been Master throughout the reign of Henry VII, and Sir Thomas's successor from 1510 to 1513 had been Sir Thomas Knyvet, Lord Knyvet of Escrick. Charles's own successors were Sir Henry Guildford (1515-22), Sir Nicholas Carew (1522-1539), and Sir Anthony Browne (1539-1549); all six men were eventually elected to the Order of the Garter.

¹⁰² The office of Lord High Constable of England was given in 1483 to Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham and Earl of Stafford, Buckingham, Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, who had already been made the Lord Great Chamberlain of England a week earlier; it was restored to his son Edward by Henry VII, along with all of his hereditary dignities, in 1486, but on his death and attainder in 1521 it was left vacant, and filled thenceforth only for special occasions like coronations; its normal duties, including the supervision of the heralds and the presidency of the Court of Chivalry, devolved upon the Marshal. The office of Hereditary Marshal of England, which had come to be attached to and virtually fused with the parial dignity of Earl Marshal, was on 28 June 1483 conferred on Sir John Howard, K.G., on the same day that he was made Duke of Norfolk, and the day before he was made High Steward of England for the coronation of Richard III; in the following month he was also made Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine, and he held all of these offices until his death at Bosworth in 1485. His son, Thomas Howard I, Earl of Surrey from 1483 to '85 and again from 1489, Lord Treasurer of England from 1501 to 1522, High Steward for the trial of Edward, Lord Dudley in 1503, and Marshal of England for the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509, was restored to his father's dignities of Earl Marshal and Marshal of England in 1510, and to his dukeship of Norfolk in 1514, and held them to his death in 1524. He was succeeded by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who had been granted the reversion of the office in the previous year, and held it until 1534; at that time it was restored to the previous holder's son, Thomas Howard II, Duke of Norfolk to 1554, who had been appointed High Treasurer of England in 1522), and he held them to his death in 1554.

¹⁰³ On the office of Master of the Horse, see Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse*; a complete list of Masters with brief biographies is given on pp. 340-349.

The offices or departments of the Household proper – those located indoors – were placed under the general authority of an officer called the ‘Lord Great Master’, who was the equivalent of the *Grand Maistre d’hostel* of the French court. This important office was often combined with comparably important offices of state, as in the case of the Lord St John, who was both Great Master and Lord President of the Privy Council in 1547. The Household proper was in its turn divided into two distinct divisions, which in the ordinances of Edward IV were called respectively the *Domus providentiae* or ‘Household of Providence’ and the *Domus magnificentiae* or ‘Household of Magnificence’.

The former of these was centred on the Great Hall, and placed like the latter under the authority of the Lord Steward (of the Household): formerly the deputy of the officer by then called the Lord Great Steward, who like the other household officers of the first rank had become an officer of state.¹⁰⁴ The Stewardship of the Household was also an important office, however, and was normally held by a man of high rank in the confidence of the king, often in combination with other offices. Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk, was Steward for Richard III in 1483-84, and as we have seen, Henry VII appointed John Radcliffe, Lord fitzWalter to the office immediately after ascending the throne in 1485. In 1488 he appointed as his successor Robert Willoughby de Broke, whom by 1491 he had summoned as a baron. Henry VIII reserved the office for greater men: on his accession in 1509 he gave the Steward’s wand to George Talbot I, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, Companion of the Garter, and Hereditary High Steward of Ireland, along with membership in the Council and the office of Chamberlain of the Exchequer; in 1540 he conferred the office (along with that of Great Master, with which it seems often to have been combined) to his brother-in-law the Duke of Suffolk, who retained it to 1545.

In addition to the Great Hall proper (always the largest room in a house of any rank, and until the later sixteenth century normally two storeys high with a dais at the upper end) the *Domus providentiae* included the strictly

¹⁰⁴ Like that of Constable, the office of Great or High Steward of the Kingdom was conferred in our period only *pro hac vice*: John de Vere III, Earl of Oxford and Hereditary Great Chamberlain of England, was made High Steward for the trial of the Earl of Warwick in 1499, for example; Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey from 1489 and Duke of Norfolk from 1514, was made High Steward for the trial of Edward, Lord Dudley, in 1503, and for the Trial of Edward, Duke of Buckingham, in 1521; Edward Stafford, Duke of Stafford and Lord High Constable, was made Lord High Steward for the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509; and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk and Lord President of the Council, was made both Lord Great Steward and Lord High Constable for the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533.

domestic offices associated with the service rooms at the lower end of the Hall, behind the Screens Passage: the Bakehouse, Pantry, Cellar, Buttery, Pitcherhouse, Spicery, Confectionery, Wafery, Chandlery, Ewery, Laundry, Kitchen, Larder, Scaldinghouse, Poultry, Accatery or caterer, Scullery, and Saucery. It also included several offices concerned with the administration of the Household and the exercise of the judicial and police powers that extended for twelve miles around the court, wherever it happened to be. These were (a) the Counting House, under the Comptroller and the Cofferer; (b) the Board of Doom at the Green Cloth, under the Comptroller, Cofferer, and Clerk of the Board; and (c) the Court of the Verge, under the Lord Steward himself. These positions went to gentlemen of relatively modest rank: Sir Thomas Boleyn, father of the future queen, had been made Comptroller of the Household in 1520, when still only a Knight of the Body, and Treasurer of the Household in the following year. The Steward also presided over the Hall proper when the personnel of the Household were assembled there ceremoniously, for feasts and their accompanying entertainments, and was assisted in that duty by a corps of Marshals of the Hall.

Down to the reign of Edward II, the king had spent a good deal of his time in the Hall, which had been the centre of the public and political life of the court, but under Edward III the king and his immediate family and most intimate servants had increasingly withdrawn to the more private rooms arranged in a sequence beyond the upper, or dais end of the Hall, all of were administered by the Lord Chamberlain as part of the Household division officially called the Chamber. The original chief of this division, by Tudor times called the Lord Great Chamberlain of England, had long since become one of the great officers of state; from the accession of Henry VII the regnal office was held hereditarily by successive Earls of Oxford of the ancient house of Vere, the first of whom had been made at the same time Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine, and in 1499 was made High Steward of England as well.

The office of (Lord) Chamberlain of the Household was held in our period by men of only slightly lesser importance, and generally for long periods. William, Lord Hastings held it under the kings of the House of York from at least 1462 onwards, and Charles Somerset, Knight of the Garter from 1496, Lord Herbert from 1504, Privy Councillor from 1505 (and later Earl of Worcester from 1514) was appointed to the office first by Henry VII in 1508, and again at the accession of Henry VIII in 1509, after which he held it to 1526. Thomas Cromwell, Lord Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, and Vicegerent of the Church, was made Lord Chamberlain in 1539, just before his promotion to the earlship of Essex, but held it only briefly.

By the time Edward IV's *Black Book of the Household* was composed, the Chamber had long been the division of the Household that was most

closely associated with the person of the king, his needs, duties, and activities as a person and a ruler, and – as its unofficial designation suggests – the task of projecting the image of the king as required by contemporary doctrines of his status. It is therefore with the greater Chamber or *Domus magnificentie* that we are here principally concerned. Under Edward IV, this division had included no fewer than five non-departmental corps of servants, and eight offices or departments, all of which were associated with the whole suite of ever more private physical rooms (the Antechamber, Great Chamber, Privy Chamber, and Privy Closet) that continued to be attached to the administrative Chamber. The most important of these departments were (a) the Office of the King's Physician and Surgeon, which looked after the king's health; (b) the Wardrobe of Robes, (c) Wardrobe of Beds, and (d) Jewel House, which provided for the magnificence of the king's person, Chamber servants, and the various physical chambers; three offices concerned at least partly with ceremonies: (e) the Minstrels' Office and (f) Trumpeters' Office, under their Marshals; and (g) the Office of Arms under the Principal King of Arms, (and more remotely under the High Constable and Earl Marshal); and finally, the innermost department of State: the Signet Office under the King's Secretary, Keeper of the Signet Seal.

In practice, it was these departments that were responsible both for entertaining the king in a splendid fashion, and with surrounding him with spectacle and pageantry intended to impress his courtiers and guests – and any uninvited onlookers who could manage to get a view – with the king's wealth, taste, and magnificence, and to convey in subtle and less subtle ways elements of royal propaganda. They must also have cooperated to some degree with local authorities for the staging civic pageants during royal progresses – rare as they were under the Tudor kings. The whole subject courtly and public spectacle under the Tudors – of festivals, disguisings, masks, plays, tournaments, and royal entries – has been examined and analysed quite thoroughly by Sydney Anglo, and I can do no more here than summarise in the briefest manner his general findings.¹⁰⁵ He found in the first place that the character of the court spectacles changed from reign to reign and within the longer reigns from phase to phase, so that Henry VII's reign was characterised by public ceremonies intended to establish and consolidate the rights of the dynasty to rule, supported by a small number of festivals and entertainments intended to represent the king's prudence or 'politike gouernance'. Henry VIII's reign, by contrast, began with a burst of ostentatious events intended to impress the world with the new king's brilliance while he

¹⁰⁵ Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, esp. pp. 1-4.

was attempting to make a name for himself as a soldier, moved on under Wolsey's influence to portray and glorify the triumphs of England's diplomatic campaign to be the arbiter of Latin Christendom, declined markedly during the period of religious controversy in the 1530s, and then returned to something like their original form when Henry returned to foreign military adventures in the 1540s. Anglo also found that the reign of Henry VII 'witnessed the development in England of a new composite form [of entertainment] borrowed from the great continental displays, particularly those of the Burgundian dukes; and the reign of Henry VIII saw that form evolve more fully into something which, recognisable as the court mask, did not change substantially till Ben Jonson intensified its political allusiveness and arcane subtlety'.¹⁰⁶ He also traced the continuing evolution of the tournament into a kind of drama, in which the romantic elements of chivalry still played a major role, and noted the extent to which Henry VIII treated real warfare and the mock warfare of the tournament in much the same way.¹⁰⁷ Thus, his study suggests that developments in this area did little more than continue the tendencies and maintain the values that had been present for centuries, even if some of the ways in which they were expressed were new to England in this period.

Like all contemporary households in England and in Latin Europe generally, that of Edward IV had not only been divided vertically into divisions and departments, but horizontally into a hierarchy of offices closely associated both in name and in practice with the ranks of civil society. In keeping with its relatively lowly role and distance from the centre of authority and attention, most of the servants of all official ranks in the *Domus providentie* were of simple or non-noble status, and were rated according to their wealth and age as yeomen, grooms, or pages. The Chamber departments under the Lord Chamberlain, by contrast, were increasingly filled with men of gentle birth, whether peers, knights, esquires, or simple gentlemen, and a growing number of positions carrying the lowly titles 'yeoman' and even 'groom' came to be held quite consistently by gentlemen who might even be knights or peers. This was especially true in the corps of servants attached to the service of the Chamber in general: (a) the Knights and Esquires of the Body, (b) the Carvers, (c) Cupbearers and Sewers (or waiters), (d) Gentlemen and Yeomen Ushers (under the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, chief usher of the Household, the Order of the Garter, and the Kingdom), and (e) the Yeomen, Grooms, and Pages of the Chamber.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, chapt. 3.

Thus, as one of its more recent historians has observed, by the death of Edward III the Chamber had already come to include, and even in large part to coincide with, the part of the king's entourage that represented the historic war-band or noble male companionship of the kings of earlier periods. Like the knights of the legendary Round Table Society of King Arthur, the knights and squires of the Chamber had also come to be drawn from all over the kingdom, so that the society of the innermost part of the Household was in an important respect representative of the politically active part of what contemporaries liked to call the Community of the Realm. Down to the death of Henry V, moreover, the servants of the Chamber had continued to form the core of the royal army in the field, as their equivalents did in the forces contributed to that army by the greater magnates. Under his son Henry VI this role, along with its social and geographical coherence and its numbers, had declined rapidly, and in consequence had lost most of its social and political importance. Edward IV had reversed this process, however, and between 1465 and 1468 had restored to the Chamber much of its former importance; the Knights of the Body once again served as the core of the royal army, and the King's Secretary (ancestor of most of the modern ministers of state) had once again become involved in state affairs.

The reign of Edward IV also witnessed the first stages of the transition from the conception of the king's entourage as a private *household*, made up of servants and companions, to a public *court*, made up of courtiers competing for the royal favour on the basis of their superior polish. The words of the 'court' family, though known in England since the thirteenth century, remained rare in English before the 1470s, and both 'court' and 'courtier' came into common use only in the years immediately before the accession of the first Tudor monarch in 1485. The new conception of the court owed much to continental and fictional models, especially those of the Dukes of Burgundy and of King Arthur. It was expressed in a growing number of literary works, which displayed an increasing awareness of the nature of life at court and of the position of the courtier therein.

David Starkey has argued that these changes reflected a more profound change in the nature and position of the royal household and court in English society that took place gradually during the course of the whole fifteenth century. This change in its turn reflected a similar change in the position of the king, who from being a sort of *primus inter pares* among the greater lords of his kingdom (especially those who constituted the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the Parliament, itself a special division of the court in the older sense), and the leader of a sort of 'joint-stock company' in the wars against France, was converted into a true monarch raised far above all of the other lords of his kingdom in prestige, authority, and power. As a result, service to the king became different not merely in *degree*, but in *kind*, from

service to all other lords, and both the king's Household in general and the Chamber in particular came to be raised above all comparable bodies.

This transformation – central to our concerns in the present chapter – was initiated under the last Plantagenet kings, but completed only under the first two Tudors. Not surprisingly, it soon gave rise to the first significant alterations in the structure of the household since Edward III withdrew his regular presence from the Hall. Although various minor changes were made in the placement and identity of departments, by far the most important change of this period was the administrative separation of the Privy Chamber from the outer parts of the Chamber effected by Henry VII in 1495. Thereafter, what continued to be called the Chamber, under the Lord Chamberlain, retained control over the more public, ceremonial functions of the Chamber (already separated from the *still* more public functions of the Hall), while the new division of the Privy Chamber was responsible for the more intimate functions of the former Chamber.

Under Henry VII, the personnel of the Privy Chamber for the most part consisted of relatively humble men, suitable to what were still conceived of as the lowly tasks of looking after the king's more intimate bodily needs. This arrangement was initially retained by Henry VIII, but between 1509 and about 1518 he gradually filled the more important offices of the new Privy Chamber with his own favourites – inevitably men of gentle birth and largely of relatively eminent families – and in 1526 he codified all of the changes made by his father and himself in a new Household Ordinance (known as the Eltham Ordinance from the palace in which it was proclaimed), which replaced the *Black Book* of Edward IV. The main effect of the changes thus institutionalised was to draw an invisible line at the door of the physical division of the palace called the Privy Chamber, which only a score or so of the king's most intimate servants and confidants (most of them members of the Privy Chamber staff) could cross. Before the door lay the Antechambers and the Great Chamber; behind it what came to be called the Privy Lodgings, which under Henry VIII included a steadily growing number of ever more restricted chambers, galleries, and closets. Thenceforth, it was in these suites of rooms that the king spend most of his time, and it was their officers and underservants that provided for most of his personal needs.

While the (outer) Chamber continued to be governed by the Lord Chamberlain (assisted by a Vice Chamberlain and a Treasurer), the Privy Chamber was put under the authority of the Groom of the Stool – the servant who alone could accompany the king into his Privy Closet – and despite his title, after 1518 the 'Groom' was always a gentleman, and commonly a knight. Under him were the Offices of the Privy Purse and the Privy Wardrobes, and corps of Gentlemen, Ushers, Grooms, Pages, Chamberers, and

Maids of the Privy Chamber. The closed world of the Privy Chamber thus defined soon became the very core of the Court, and indeed the only part of the Court toward which politically ambitious noblemen would set their sights. After 1495, membership in the Privy Chamber alone gave regular access to the king – or ‘the sight of the royal face’, to use a contemporary expression – and put a courtier in a position to secure royal graces and favours of every sort not only for himself, but for his kinsmen and his clients, and to promote policies that would favour their collective interests. The ability to do the latter was enhanced for the more prominent gentlemen of the Privy Chamber after the full institutionalisation of the Privy Council in 1540 through the appointment of a third or so of the former to membership the new body (including the two Chief Gentlemen *ex officio*), and by the formal attachment of the two Secretaryships associated with the Privy Council to the inner divisions of the Court, and effectively to the Privy Chamber. After all, it was only there that they could find the king except during public festivities held either in the Great Chamber or the Great Hall, or while he was hunting or on campaign, when he was surrounded by servants of the Outdoor Departments.

In the present context, the most important effect of the changes in Household organisation just outlined was that they removed the king still further from the mass of the household servants and less-favoured courtiers of all ranks: most of whom must scarcely have laid eyes on him from one month to the next. This not only increased the mystery and awe that increasingly surrounded the royal dignity but meant that when the king did appear openly to the court as a whole, his mere appearance was a significant event, and likely to be noted by everyone. If these appearances were normally enhanced by formal and informal insignia of royal wealth, authority, and power, supplemented with marks of his taste and refinement, they could contribute quite significantly to the image of the king as a being of more than human dignity, and there is good reason to think that royal appearances were in fact continuously enhanced with such signs. Nevertheless, most of the functions of the old Chamber suggested by the name *Domus regie magnificentie* were relegated under the Tudor kings and their successors to the outer Chamber, and if just as significant as they had been, were much less frequent. Thus, in the area of magnificence, as in that of the direct interaction of the monarch with his courtiers, the tendency begun by Edward III to replace frequency with quality reached its logical limit under Henry VIII.

*The physical locus of the court:
palaces and other royal residences*

Like the other kings and princes of Latin Christendom, the Kings of England had since the time of the Conqueror possessed a number of residences sufficiently large to house most or all of their household, and at least a substantial part of their court as a whole.¹⁰⁸ These residences were sometimes called by the general name *palatium* or 'palace', but this name was more commonly restricted to those that took the form of a large unfortified house, and was also used of the comparable residences of bishops — who before the reign of Henry VIII always possessed the great majority of such houses in England. Great houses had always existed in some numbers in England, where most true castles had served a largely symbolic function, and many baronies had always had such a house as their *caput*. The number and identity of the palaces held by the king had fluctuated continually before the accession of the first Tudor, but it can be said that the highest number (twenty-nine) was reached at the death of John 'Lackland' in 1216, and the lowest after that date (eight) on the accession of Henry VII. Henry inherited from his predecessor Richard III: (1) the Palace of Westminster just outside London (a successor to the principal pre-Conquest palace that had been used by all successive kings, had most recently been renovated by Richard II in the 1390s, and as we have seen, had become the seat of most of the fixed elements of the central government and the normal meeting place of the Parliament); (2) Clarendon Palace near Salisbury in Wiltshire (a Norman palace greatly embellished under the early Plantagenets); (3) Eltham Palace south-east of London (a minor royal palace rebuilt as a London residence by a Bishop of Durham just before 1300, given in that year to the future Edward II, and largely reconstructed by Edward IV in the 1470s and '80s); (4) Bayard's Castle in London itself (a minor palace rebuilt after a fire by Humphrey Plantagenet of Lancaster, Duke of Gloucester, in 1426, and left on his death without issue to the Crown); (5) Greenwich Palace on the Thames a few miles down river from London (an old manor house acquired by the same duke, in 1426, and enlarged by Edward IV for use by his queen, Elizabeth Woodville); (6) Sheen Palace in what is now Richmond-upon-Thames

¹⁰⁸ Although there is a substantial literature on castles in England, palaces and comparable great manor-houses have only recently begun to attract the attention of professional scholars, both archaeologists and historians. On English palaces one may now consult the following general works: James, *The Palaces of Medieval England, c. 1050-1550*; Keevil, *Medieval Palaces: An Archaeology*; Steane, *The Archaeology of Power*.

(built by 1125 and last rebuilt by Henry V with the spoils of his conquest of northern France); (7) Woodstock Palace in Woodstock near Oxford (built by Henry II Plantagenet for his mistress Rosamund Clifford in the late twelfth century, and birthplace of two of the sons of Edward III, Edward Prince of Wales and Thomas Duke of Gloucester), and (8) King's Langley in Hertfordshire (another early Plantagenet palace, substantially rebuilt for Queen Eleanor of Castile in and after 1272, and birthplace of Edward III's fifth son Edmund, the first Duke of York).

To these unfortified royal palaces may be added two that were heavily fortified: (8) the Tower of London, whose keep had been built by William the Conqueror himself, and was by 1485 mainly used as a fort and prison for prisoners of state;¹⁰⁹ and (9) the great castle of Windsor a few miles up the Thames from London, whose domestic buildings had been converted into a major palace-complex in the Late Gothic style by Edward III in the decades after 1344, and which since 1348/9 had been the seat of the Order of the Garter and of the cult of St George, patron both of the Order and of England.¹¹⁰

Like all of their predecessors on the English throne, the first two Tudors carried their court on an annual round through a number of different residences, including those of their greatest subjects, but like the last kings of the York line of the Plantagenets they rarely strayed far from the valley of the Thames and from the city of London itself. In remaining within about a day's ride of their principal city, they were of course conforming to the custom that had developed in the previous century in France, and by 1485 was normal among the greater courts of Latin Europe. Abandoning their own more distant palaces (like Clarendon) to decay, they at first concentrated on enlarging and beautifying those in or near London, and when necessary building new ones to replace those that were lost. Both Henry VII and Henry VIII carried on the construction of the new Chapel of St George at Windsor: the spiritual centre of the Order of the Garter, and the finest example of the mature Perpendicular style in the kingdom. The former also ordered the construction of a similar chapel at the east end of the royal Abbey Church of Westminster – the principal mausoleum of the English kings since 1066, conveniently situated next to the palace – to contain his own tomb and that of his nearly-sainted Lancastrian predecessor Henry VI, whose cult he promoted in order to obtain a dynastic saint. Apparently because of its commodiousness, Henry VII made Bayard's Castle in Thames Street his main London residence after Westminster, but asserted the dignity

¹⁰⁹ On the Tower of London, see Charlton, *The Tower of London*.

¹¹⁰ On the palace and chapel of Windsor see Macwith-Young, *The History and Treasures of Windsor Castle*.

and splendour of his dynasty by adding new royal apartments to Eltham Palace, enlarging and beautifying Greenwich Palace, and thoroughly refurbishing Sheen Palace, to which (as the principal palace of his most glorious Lancastrian predecessor Henry V) he was particularly attached. When it burnt down in 1499 he replaced it with a new palace that he called Richmond, after his former earldom in the far north.

Richmond was Henry's only really *new* palace, so its form is of particular interest as a sign of contemporary thought about the proper housing for the royal court. In fact Richmond was quite conservative, for although its internal arrangements were slightly less haphazard than those of most of its predecessors, it was an essentially traditional domestic complex on the model of a large manor-house. It was laid out around three major courtyards, the last and smallest of which was surrounded by the royal lodgings, marked by fourteen cupola-topped towers which were themselves surmounted by weathervanes of the royal arms.

The other new palaces built in his reign were all built by bishops, who continued to live like princes until well into the reign of Henry VIII. Two of these palaces – Knole in Kent near Canterbury (built by Archbishop Bourchier) and Otford only three miles up the road (built by his successor Archbishop William Warham) – would eventually become royal palaces under that king. They too, however, were essentially traditional in their plans.

In the first years of his reign, Henry VIII himself did little more than maintain the palaces he had inherited from his father, but fires both at Westminster and the Tower of London led him to build two new palaces, at a total cost of £39,000: (1) Bridewell, at the confluence of the Fleet and the Thames (built 1515-23), and (2) New Hall, down river in Essex. Neither was very innovative, and the latter was turned by his son into a prison. Henry also did some work at Richmond Palace in 1527, but most of his effort in this period went into acquiring and enlarging palaces that had already been built by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York – who were in the process gradually reduced to living on a scale that no longer rivalled that of the royal court. Cardinal Wolsey, who among other things was Archbishop of York, surrendered his new palace of Hampton Court just up the Thames from London in 1527, when his star was descending, and Henry seized his older palace of York Place (situated on the Thames just above Westminster) immediately following Wolsey's fall from grace in 1529. Thomas Cranmer, Warham's successor as Archbishop of Canterbury, was obliged to surrender his archiepiscopal palaces of Knole and Otford to the king not long after his appointment to the primatial see in 1532. Wolsey's new palace of Hampton Court – constructed in the previous decade on a scale large enough to house most of the royal court – soon became Henry's favourite country residence, and he not only added further courtyards to provide housing for his innu-

merable servants and guests, but built a new hall and gatehouse, and enlarged the kitchens. York Place – which had been built in 1240 but improved in various ways by Wolsey – Henry found equally congenial, and, renaming it Whitehall Palace, he promptly extended it and made it the principal suburban centre of his court, replacing the immediately adjacent, but less conveniently organised, Palace of Westminster – which was in any case too full of government offices for it to function well as a domestic complex. Whitehall was soon supplemented by the Palace of St James's, which was built by Henry VIII on nearby land that he had acquired through the suppression of a hospital for lepers in 1531. This shift of focus inland from the Thames represented the first major change of the period in the matter of the housing of the royal court, but would only be completed in 1698, when the burning of Whitehall led to the transfer of the royal court to nearby St James's Palace – still in theory the seat of the monarchy today. Nevertheless, the shift involved was trivial in terms of distance, and is better understood as an *expansion* inland of the Old English palace complex at Westminster, just up river from the capital.

Henry also built two other new country palaces: a minor one called Oatland at Weybridge in Surrey, very near Hampton Court and conceived on the same general lines; and a major one called Nonsuch or Nonpareil, which replaced the whole village of Cuddington, and was the only one of the early Tudor palaces to break from the Late-Gothic model. Inspired by the new forms of the Italian Renaissance, especially as they had been expressed in France at such palaces as Fontainebleau, Nonsuch took the form of a mock-castle in stucco with ornate neo-Classical decorations both inside and out. Work began on it in 1538, when the process of suppressing monasteries was largely complete, and the innermost of its three courts was completed by 1544. The whole building was not completed until after Henry's death in 1547, however, when it was given to the Earl of Arundel, and therefore ceased to be a royal palace.

Thus, the most revolutionary achievements of the early Tudors in the area of housing the court were moving the focus of the court in London from Early-Gothic Westminster to Late-Gothic Whitehall and St James's a stone's throw away. Otherwise, all they did was to replace a few of the older, more remote palaces with newer ones closer to London, most of which had been built by bishops in an essentially Late-Gothic style, with not more than a few superficial decorations to suggest the arrival of Renaissance ideas about architecture. The bishops were the principal victims of these developments, for aside from losing some of their most important residences, they were discouraged by Henry VIII after his break with Rome from referring to those they managed to retain as 'palaces' – thenceforth a title reserved for royal residences. The monarch was thus raised above all of his

subjects in this area, but this was achieved by the reduction of the latter more than the elevation of the former. This was in fact a typical result of the policies of Henry VIII.

Conclusions

Having now surveyed the state of the English monarchy under the first Tudors in all of the contexts relevant to this series, I shall attempt to evaluate the extent to which the various innovations effected by the first two Tudors were genuinely *novel*, either in an English or in a Latin Christian context, and how significant their novelty was in the long term. Obviously a number of them were relatively novel in an English context: the creation of two permanent corps of guards, one of yeomen and the other of gentlemen; the separation of the Privy Chamber from the Chamber within the Household, the elevation of its personnel; the assertion of a stronger executive authority over Parliament, the Church, and the lay magnates of the Marches, exercised through such bodies as the Privy Council, Star Chamber, and the Councils of Wales and the North (whose jurisdiction was strengthened by their use of Civil rather than Common Law); and the replacement of bishops by laymen in the state offices of Chancellor and Keeper of the Privy Seal. The more extensive use of Civil Law and of related doctrines such as that of *rex est imperator* – adopted to serve the goal of strengthening royal authority – were also innovations, as were Henry's full institutionalisation of the Privy Council and its distinctive offices of President and Secretary, and the creation of the Council of the North. Most novel of all, of course, were his complete subjection of the English Church to his own authority, his creation of the new lay office of Vicegerent of the Church, and his suppression of the religious orders and their houses.

Seen in the context of Latin Christendom and its history, however, none of these acts appears innovative in the absolute sense of that term, for they had all been anticipated elsewhere, and often at a significantly earlier time. Henry's treatment of the Privy Council, for example, was certainly anticipated in France – where the royal council had long played an important role as an instrument of royal absolutism – and might well have been inspired by what he saw of the French body. Similarly, the ecclesiastical acts of the 1530s actually did little more than give the English kings the same degree of control over the clergy of their kingdom as the Kings of France had achieved by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1438, fully a century earlier. Thus, one could argue that all Henry VIII succeeded in doing was to bring English royal authority in more in line with that established a century earlier in France. Furthermore, although Henry VIII's ability to dominate Parliament was undoubtedly greater than that of any of his immediate prede-

cessors, it depended as much on his personality as on his institutional reforms (which in this area were quite minor), and was arguably no greater than those of several of his more forceful predecessors on the throne, including Henry V and even Edward I.

Furthermore, both Henry's acts to secure control of the national churches, and other, comparable acts in other kingdoms in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were not really novel in historical terms. In fact, they merely restored to the kings of Latin Christendom the authority that all kings and emperors had enjoyed from the time of Constantine I to the period of the Investiture Conflict of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries – when the papacy had created its own version of the old Roman Empire, and transferred most of the traditionally imperial authority over the Church to the pope as a sort of spiritual emperor. Thus, the Act of Supremacy can be seen as a rejection of the novel jurisdiction of the papal monarchy, and a restoration of the *status quo ante*. Nor was the suppression of the monasteries particularly novel or significant except in economic terms, as most forms of monasticism had been in steep decline since the thirteenth century (or in other words through most of my 'Earlier Traditional Epoch' of c. 1180/1220-c.1520/50), and in a number of countries (especially Italy) most of their lands had already been confiscated by local actions when Cromwell set about his task in England in 1536.

Finally, there was nothing really new – and certainly nothing that could be called 'Modern' – in the doctrines used to explain and justify these actions. As we have seen, Henry's justifications were based on doctrines derived from Roman law that were even older than his French models, and were novel only in the sense that they had not previously been used in England. As ideas, they dated from the first decades of what I have called the 'Traditional Period' (c. 1180-c. 1815), and had been put into effect in many other parts of Latin Christendom (again including France) at a much earlier date.

In most other areas of concern to us here, the first two Tudors did little more than regularise or extend practices that had been initiated by their predecessors, or modify existing institutions in minor ways to bring them in line with contemporary continental practice or style. The expansion of the navy, the regularisation of the use of the 'crown imperial', and the stabilization of the armorial achievement in its classic form are examples of the former type of practice, while the foundation of a permanent corps of guards, the adoption of a cypher, the assignment of a collar to the Order of the Garter, and the initiation of the practice of setting realistic neo-Classical portraits on coins by Henry VII, and the revision of the Garter statutes, the adoption of a nominal number, the adoption of an abridged, insignial form of achievement, and the decoration of the new palaces in 'Renaissance' style

by Henry VIII are all examples of the latter type. It is also possible that Henry VIII was imitating his contemporaries when he increased the rate at which he conferred parial dignities and knighthoods on his subjects, but the increase was only relative, and it is equally possible that he was merely seeking to restore the numbers to something closer to what they had been under his earlier predecessors.

In most other areas, the first two Tudors merely maintained the institutions and practices which they had inherited, and while these certainly changed in ways that were largely independent of royal influence, they generally did so in directions and at a rate that differed very little from those of the previous three centuries.

THE COURT CULTURE OF ENGLAND UNDER ELIZABETH I

Jane Stevenson

The first thing which anyone thinks of in connection with Elizabethan court culture is the cult of Elizabeth; the ingenious device by which the problem of female monarchy was solved, or at least theorised, by transforming Elizabeth into a species of sacred monster.¹ There are various aspects of the monarch's anomalous gender which significantly affected the culture of the court: for example, though the queen could, and did, hunt, she could not joust or participate in tournaments, as her father had done. Her relationship to the annual Accession Day tournament was necessarily a very different one from that assumed by a male monarch.

An important part of Elizabeth's self-presentation involved distancing herself from other women and fashioning herself as a remote yet seductive divinity.² There is nothing overtly feminist about her reign. But all the same, the bare fact of a female monarch gave the women of the court an unusual importance, which is an important aspect of the distinctiveness of Elizabethan court culture. Elizabeth emerged each day, glittering and he-iratic, from the custody of women. In a century where access to the person of the sovereign constituted a major aspect of effective political power, and rulers were adept at controlling the levels of intimacy attained by the many who sought access to them, the ladies of the Privy Chamber gained in significance. The creation of her public persona was in their hands; they were, by definition, privy to significant and politically relevant aspects of the private woman, such as the encroaching effects of age, the state of her overall health, her bowels, and her menstrual cycle. The only recorded male invasion of this sacred space is the famous irruption of the Earl of Essex.³ Pam Wright has pointed out the astonishing stability of Elizabeth's household. During the whole reign, only twenty-eight women occupied paid posts in the Privy Chamber, and several women served the Queen for forty years and more.⁴

¹ See, among others, Wilson, *England's Eliza*, Yates, *Astraea*; Strong, *The Cult*; Berry, *Of Chastity and Power*; Levin, *The Heart*.

² Berry, *Of Chastity and Power*, p. 61.

³ Discussed by Levin, *The Heart*, p. 154.

⁴ Quotation from Wright, 'A Change', pp. 158-159. See also Frye, *Elizabeth I*, p. 104.

As the Queen's women, long in service and high in favour, the Ladies were standard figures at court, virtually immovable and hard even to persuade ... Elizabeth's Privy Chamber ... was a barrier, or a cocoon.

The Ladies were not encouraged to involve themselves in politics, and their role as the Queen's confidential servants was seen as overriding any other considerations whatsoever. Even when Lord Cobham was arrested at the time of the Duke of Norfolk's revolt in 1570, Lady Cobham continued in daily attendance on the Queen.⁵ Thus, taken at face value, the official duties of the women of the Privy Chamber were wholly domestic, but their unofficial work on behalf of complex networks of clients and their function as gleaners of information were accepted by both Elizabeth's half-sister Mary Tudor and by Elizabeth herself, and have not often been appreciated.⁶ They were, however, remarked by contemporaries. We might note that Robert Beale, in his 1592 *Treatise of the Office of a Councillor and Secretary to her Majesty*, recommends,⁷

learn before you access her Majesty's disposition by some of the Privy Chamber, with whom you must keep credit, for that will stand you in much stead.

Charlotte Merton has put the potential political significance of the Queen's ladies into focus by pointing out that,⁸

the result of all the pinning and lacing required by court costume was that for at least a couple of hours in the morning and the same in the evening when the process was reversed, Mary and Elizabeth were closeted with their women, providing ample opportunity for idle chat or serious discussion.

The queen's women controlled knowledge of the Queen's moods, they were able to put cases to her when she was relaxed and in a good humour; they could put in a word for or against some suppliant, they could glean hints of the Queen's future intentions. Such knowledge is power. If the Queen's women had been mere nobodies, then perhaps we might regard all these hours in front of the mirror as insignificant. But in many cases, they were the sisters, wives, and daughters of the most powerful and ambitious men in

⁵ Wright, 'A Change', p. 159.

⁶ Merton, 'The Women', p. 244.

⁷ Printed by Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham*, pp. 423-443.

⁸ Merton, 'The Women', p. 67.

England; Howards, Careys, Radcliffes, Staffords, Brookes, and Knollyses. Willy-nilly, they would have been forced into an understanding of their significance even if this had not come as a natural result of their education and upbringing. To say that the ladies of the Privy Chamber were 'excluded from politics' is to maintain a rather simple view of what constitutes political activity. Lady Penelope Rich, for example seems to have done her best on behalf of her brother Essex in 1600; and Sir Robert Sidney, reluctantly abroad, depended on his aunts the Countess of Huntingdon and the Countess of Warwick, both long-serving Ladies of the Privy Chamber, to bring his suits to the Queen's attention, and advise him of their timeliness.⁹

Barbara Harris has argued very strongly that the activities of the women of the privy chamber should not be dismissed as frivolous. 'Political historians ... must give due weight to informal channels of power in order to understand the political process in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century England'.¹⁰ One direct piece of testimony for the accuracy of this is offered by records of bribery, since this is an entirely pragmatic activity. If we find women in the immediate circles of the Queen being bribed, then it is clear that hard-headed men believed they were effective in influencing royal decisions. Lawrence Stone declared that, 'evidence of the termites eating into the splendid façade of the late Elizabethan court is provided by Wotton's offer of £1,000 to a lady if she could influence Essex to influence the Queen to get him a title'.¹¹ But this is not merely true of the latter days of Elizabeth. In 1574, one aspirant, learning from Robert Cecil that Lady Edmunds was to enjoy the patronage of the vacant Receivership of the Court of Wards, promptly offered to give her £1,000 for it. Someone else got the post, so we may assume that £1,000 was the low offer. The same lady, who, along with the Countess of Warwick, seems to have dabbled in many suits, when offered £100 to intervene with the Queen over a chancery case, rejected the offer as too small.¹² A particularly interesting, because detailed, example of high-level bribery is a memorandum of expenses connected with the wardship of the heir of Thomas Fermor of Somerton in 1580.¹³

⁹ Brown, 'Companion me', pp. 131-148, p. 133.

¹⁰ Harris, 'Women and politics', pp. 259-287, p. 282. She also observes that 'the ease with which upper-class women intervened for their clients and servants shows that boundaries between public and private concerns as we understand them either did not exist or were extraordinarily permeable in the early Tudor period (p. 268).

¹¹ Stone, *The Crisis*, p. 100.

¹² Neale, *The Age*, p. 151.

¹³ Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards*, p. 265.

Item	Given to Sir Christopher Hatton's man for writing a letter to my lord treasurer	10s
Item	Given to Mr Bradshawe, which first moved my lady to deal in it	£10
Item	Promised Mr Medlie £3, and paid him £3, given to Mr Barnard, one of my lord's secretaries, £3	£6
Item	To speed my lady's chamberlain	£3
Item	For writing two letters to my Lady Burghley	12d
Item	Given to my Lady Burghley for obtaining the Wardship	£250

It is worth observing that the official price of this wardship which went to Queen Elizabeth was £233 6s 8d, slightly less than Lady Burghley's gratuity of £250. As Hurstfield has shown, traffic in wardships functioned as a necessary, though deeply inefficient, way of rewarding public servants without raising taxes.¹⁴ Lady Burghley's profiteering can only be seen as corrupt if we take the view that because she was female, she was less entitled to benefit in this way than an officially-accredited diplomat or a clerk – in actual fact, her career had elements of both.¹⁵

The term 'court culture' is one with multiple meanings. Thus far, this essay has considered some aspects of the court as a community. But the term 'culture' is often used as a shorthand for 'literary culture' or 'cultural production', which must now be examined. Elizabeth's own awareness of the essentially literary character of the enterprise of creating herself as the focus of the court is suggested by the end of a reply which she made to Paul Melissus, the well-connected, humanist librarian of the Palatine Library in Heidelberg, which freely acknowledges the prince's dependence on his or her image-makers.¹⁶

*Sed vatum es princeps; ego vati subdita, dum me
Materiam celsi carminis ipse legit,
Quem regum pudeat tantum coluisse poetam,
Nos ex semideis qui facit esse deos?*

But you are prince of poets; I am the poet's subject, when
He makes me the matter of lofty verse,

¹⁴ *The Queen's Wards*, pp. 345-349.

¹⁵ Bribery was an accepted mode of facilitating action, as Hurstfield makes clear (*The Queen's Wards*, p. 215); a situation which, it may be noted, gave well-placed women a good deal of indirect power. On Lady Burghley, see Stevenson, 'Mildred Cecil'.

¹⁶ 'Reginae Responsum', in Melissus, *Mele sive Odae*, p. 72. See also Phillips, 'Elizabeth I', pp. 289-298.

What ruler would be ashamed to cherish a poet so great
He turns us from heroes into gods?

What is not perhaps now obvious about Elizabeth Tudor, *semidea*, 'England's Eliza', 'Astraea', 'Belpheobe', 'Cynthia', as she was variously apostrophised, is the degree of handicap under which her rule began. Seldom has a monarch been in such dire need of her writers. Most obviously, she was female, a fact which perhaps, indirectly, had cost her mother Anne Boleyn her life,¹⁷ and which was a major handicap in all kinds of ways. Just as importantly, she was illegitimate: born during the lifetime of Catherine of Aragon, she had been declared bastard by both her father's and her brother's wills. It was also possible, since her mother had been executed for adultery, to cast doubt not only on whether her mother had been married to her father, but on whether he was, in fact, her father at all. In a purely legal sense, Elizabeth had no more claim on the throne than her half-brother Henry Fitzroy would have had had he still been alive in 1556. Moreover, there was an unequivocally legitimate claimant, supported by a major foreign power; Mary Stuart, the daughter of her father's sister, whose father-in-law Henri II of France began to speak of her as queen of England as soon as he heard of the death of Queen Mary. The fact that the succession of Henry VIII's three surviving children, son, then older daughter, then younger daughter, seems according to common sense should not disguise from us the fact that 'the lady Elizabeth' began in a far weaker position than either of her siblings.¹⁸

From this deeply unpromising beginning, Elizabeth achieved forty-four years of rule, perceived retrospectively as a golden age.¹⁹ For example, a monumental inscription in All Hallows the Great, in London, sums up Elizabeth as a walking catalogue of female perfection, and her reign as a triumph.²⁰

¹⁷ Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, pp. 230-232.

¹⁸ Nenner, *The Right to be King*, p. 4, notes that what Elizabeth leaned on as the validation for her position was not so much her birthright, but her right by act of parliament – Henry VIII's third Act of Succession of 1544.

¹⁹ There is a variety of evidence for this, for example, the widely-circulated poem (Margaret Crum lists five copies in the Bodleian alone, see her *First Line Index*, I 937) known as the 'Commons Petition', or 'The Coppie of a Libell put into the hand of Queene Elizabeths statue in Westminster by an unknowne person' which dates to the early 1620s, an appeal to the soul of Queen Elizabeth for intercession with God to send help to the people of England in their misery (discussed by Marotti, *Manuscript*, pp. 85-86). Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, p. 184, notes: 'After her death ... the image of the queen signified political difference from James: she stood for nationalism and 'local' identity'.

²⁰ Hatton, *A New View*, vol. I, p. 113.

Read but her Reign, the Princess might have been
 For wisdom, called *Nicaulis*, *Sheba's* Queen.
 Against Spain's Holofernes, Judith she,
 Dauntless gained many a glorious Victory
 Not *Deborah*, did her in fame excel,
 She was a Mother to our Israel.
 An *Esther*, who her Person did engage
 To save her People from the Publick Rage:
 Chaste Patroness of true Religion,
 In Court a Saint, in Field an Amazon;
 Glorious in Life, deplored in her Death,
 Such was unparallel'd *Elizabeth*.

Elizabeth's tools of statecraft were both positive and negative: the negative ones included the fostering of xenophobia and religious bigotry, particularly anti-Catholicism. The positive ones included the creation of an image of herself as something unique; the consecrated bride of England itself.²¹ Much of the image-making which surrounded Elizabeth focused on her uniqueness, not merely on her singleness. The Countess of Pembroke makes her debating shepherds, *Thenot* and *Piers*, as they meditate on the virtues of the Queen in 1599, say:²²

Then. ASTREA is our chiefest joy,
 Our chiefest guard against annoy,
 Our chiefest wealth, our treasure.
Piers Where chiefest are, there others bee,
 To us none else but only shee;
 When wilt thou speake in measure?

This of course was not true, though great human effort went into making it appear to be true. Most conspicuously, there was Mary Stuart, Queen of

²¹ Elizabeth is sometimes said to have stated, in a speech to Parliament I 1588, 'I have long since made choice of a husband, the kingdom of England': the remark in fact comes from a version of her speech substantially rewritten by William Camden. She did, however more certainly say to William Maitland of Lethington 'I am married already to the realm of England'. See Marcus, Mueller and Rose, *Elizabeth I*, pp. 59, 65.

²² A Dialogue betweene two shepherds, *Thenot* and *Piers*, in praise of *ASTREA*, made by the excellent Lady, the lady *Mary* Countess of Pembroke at the Queenes Maiesties being at her house at Anno 15-. The source-text is Davison (ed.), *A Poetical Rhapsody*, sigs. B5^r-6^r, in *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert* (ed. Hannay, Kinnamon and Brennan), vol. I, pp. 89-91.

Scots; but even if Elizabeth could rest secure in the thought that a foreign, Catholic monarch would not be acceptable to the majority of her subjects, there was also Katherine Grey, the grand-daughter of her father's second sister, who was legitimate, Protestant, born in England, and even worse, the mother of two healthy sons.²³ Other possible claimants included Arbella Stuart, and Ferdinand Stanley, Earl of Derby, who were also both legitimate, Protestant, and born in England.²⁴

Out of her weak position, Elizabeth created a kind of strength, built on fear of alternatives. Her court culture was insular, capricious in its adoption of Continental models, and not strongly intellectual. The insularity of Elizabeth's England is celebrated as a positive virtue by Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, one of the most dazzling of royal favourites, a man who absorbed nearly half of all the crown patronage dispensed by the Queen during the last decade of her reign.²⁵

Seated betweene the olde world and the newe,
A Land there is no other lande may touche,
Where regnes a Queen in peace and honor true;
Storyes or fables doe describe noe suche;
Never did Atlas such a burthen beare
As shee, in holding up the world opprest,
Supplying with her vertue every where
Weaknes of friends, errors of Servants best.
No nation breeds a warmer bloud for warre,
And yet She calmes them with her Majesty;
No age hath ever witte refyned so farre,
And yet she calmes them by her pollicie.
To her thy sonne must make his sacrifice,
If he will have the morning of his eyes.

One point of some importance about the court culture of Elizabeth which is seldom quite brought into focus is that it was a very long reign. Consequently,

²³ The claim of Catherine Grey was a serious one: see Tennenhouse, *Power on Display*, p. 29. As Nenner points out (*The Right to be King*, pp. 4, 16), Edward VI had attempted to leave the throne to the Suffolk line, of which she was the senior survivor, bypassing his half-sisters.

²⁴ Arbella Stuart was the daughter of Charles Stuart, younger son of Margaret Douglas, who was herself the daughter of Margaret Tudor, the older of the two sisters of Henry VIII. Ferdinand Stanley was the grandson of Eleanor Brandon, the younger daughter of Mary Tudor, the younger of the two sisters of Henry VIII.

²⁵ Stone, *The Crisis*, p. 473. For the poem, see May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, pp. 251-252.

there were two generations of courtiers; the largely middle-aged people whom she brought to power when she herself was a young woman in her twenties, who saw their heyday in the 'sixties and 'seventies, and their children, wards, and successors who flourished in the 'eighties and 'nineties. While there is a degree of continuity, there is also a considerable amount of development between the two groups.²⁶ The first generation is well represented by men and women such as William Cecil, Nicholas Bacon, their wives, the sisters Mildred Cecil and Anne Bacon, née Cooke, Roger Ascham, and the Earl of Leicester, while the second generation includes Robert Cecil, Francis Bacon, the Earl of Oxford, and Philip Sidney.²⁷ This enquiry into Elizabethan court culture will focus on these people and others who, like them, had places at court. It excludes Elizabethan writers, however significant, who did not: Shakespeare, for example, though the Lord Chamberlain's men certainly played at court on occasion, was not a courtier, and his work is therefore not a product of court culture, though the court was on occasion, exposed to it. As we shall see, Spenser, though the court of Elizabeth is often perceived through the mirror of his *Faerie Queene*, was not a courtier either.

In the first half of the reign, Elizabeth's court was anxious to appear civilised in the eyes of sophisticated foreigners such as Paul Melissus and his Flemish friend, the amiable polymath Karel Utenhove. But the coterie of Elizabethan humanists was a small one, and the only poet of international stature that the British Isles produced was a Scot (George Buchanan): it is significant that in 1563, the well-connected Petrus Ramus confessed that he could not name a single English scholar.²⁸ Few English names appear in Latin poems of compliment written on the Continent during Elizabeth's reign. In the first half of the reign, some of the English Protestants who had been exiled during the reign of Queen Mary (such as John Cheke and Anthony Cooke), maintained links which they had made with Continental Protestants, in the second half of the reign, those individuals connected with the Anglo-Dutch Protestant alliance of 1585, most notably Leicester and his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, were honoured by Protestant humanists, particularly those directly connected with the Low Countries.²⁹ Of course, English Catholic exiles at colleges such as Douai, St Omer and Valladolid also kept in contact with the Recusant community in England itself, but St Philip Howard, first Earl of Arundel (whose career as a courtier, however, had

²⁶ Van Dorsten (*The Radical Arts*, p. 25) stresses continuity when he observes that 'The Elizabethan intellectual avant-garde of the late seventies and early eighties is a descendant of that earlier, more truly avant-garde scholarly milieu of the 1560s'.

²⁷ Esler, in *The Aspiring Mind*, discusses this generation as a group.

²⁸ Van Dorsten, *The Radical Arts*, p. 12.

²⁹ Strong and Van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*, pp. 27-30.

come to an end before his conversion to Catholicism and progress towards sainthood), is the only individual through whom this group could have had any connections with the culture of the court. And since Catholic Europe was hostile to Elizabeth, both in herself and as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, these remarks about the English court's relations with foreign humanists relate to Protestant Europe only.

The Queen herself was one of the most scholarly members of her court. She was given a full humanist education in Latin, Greek and modern languages: her principal tutor was Roger Ascham, who spoke admiringly of her abilities. Several of her early letters are in Latin, and she used Latin for diplomatic purposes throughout her life.³⁰ Her fluency in foreign languages, ancient and modern, was frequently remarked on by contemporaries.³¹ William Cecil, her chancellor, comments after she lost her temper with a Polish ambassador; 'to this, I swear by the Living God, that her majesty made one of the best answers extempore in Latin that ever I heard'.³² Her reply to the Polish embassy in 1597 is preserved, authenticated by Cecil and others,³³ and she spoke extempore in Latin on a number of other occasions, particularly when she was visiting the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Her own cultural production is heavily weighted towards translations – she produced quite a large number of rough, swiftly composed, and extremely careless Latin and Greek translations which seem to have doubled as exercises in keeping her languages fluent,³⁴ and some kind of relief from the tensions

³⁰ See, for example, Von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 25-26, Latin letter from Elizabeth to Ferdinand I in her own hand, 28 Nov. 1558, and a letter from the ambassador George von Helffenstein to Ferdinand, 16 March, 1559, p. 48, in which he notes, 'the queen during our walk [in the garden] further told me that if I had any further commission of your Imperial Majesty's to communicate, I might do it freely then, as the maid of honour on duty did not understand Latin'.

³¹ Henzner, *Travels* (p. 48): 'as [Elizabeth] went along in all this state and magnificence, she spoke very graciously first to one, then to another, whether foreign ministers, or those who attended for different reasons, in English, French, and Italian, for, besides being well skilled in Greek, Latin, and the languages I have mentioned, she is skilled in Spanish, Scotch, and Dutch'. Her knowledge of languages is also evidenced by her polyglot manuscript prayerbook, written c. 1579-82, London, British Library MS Facsimile 218 (the original was lost early in the twentieth century).

³² Public Record Office, CSP Dom. Eliz. 264/51(i).

³³ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 2309 30.11 Aug. fols. 307-315 (s.xvii): *Responiones Elizabethae reginae Angliae oratori regis Poloniae Sigismundi tum verbo tum scripto datae per nos consiliaros regios, dd. in palatio Grevicensi* [Greenwich] 1597, Aug. 13, *subscripserunt W. Burghley, Ch. Howard, R. Cecyll, Jo. Forteschewe*.

³⁴ At various points in her life, she apologised more than once to foreign ambassadors for her inadequate command of one language or another, on grounds of being out of practice: see Von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 59, 187, 194. She was evi-

of her life:³⁵ William Camden, for example, asserted that her translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* – a classic work on reversal of fortune – was undertaken as a result of her grief over Henri IV's conversion to Catholicism, and completed between October 10 and November 5, 1593.³⁶ She also translated parts of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, and Plutarch's *Moralia* (from Greek). Few of her courtiers, with the possible exception of the Cecils, were as diligent in keeping their school-Latin and Greek in repair.

The Queen seems to have been successful in impressing foreigners, since she is the object of an enormous amount of neo-Latin verse by Northern European humanists. It is hard to quantify how much; but for example, she is the dedicatee of Rasmus Glad's *Margaretica*, a 6,666-line poem,³⁷ and of Olimpia Morata's poems,³⁸ Karel Utenhove dedicated his *Xenia* (humanist poems of friendship) to her,³⁹ and wrote a collection of verses for her, presented in manuscript,⁴⁰ a member of his social circle, Maria Lansenberg, apparently wrote a book of Latin epigrams on her, now lost,⁴¹ Jacques Auguste Thou wrote a long poem, *Ad Elizabetam Serenissimam Angliae*

dently highly conscious of the need to work at a language in order to maintain fluency.

³⁵ Pemberton, *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings*.

³⁶ Camden, *Historie* bk. IV, p. 51. London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 253, fol. 200.

³⁷ [Rasmus Glad] C. Erasmi Laeti, *Margareticarum*. It tells the story of how in 1389, the Swedes rebelled against Albert of Mecklenburg, and declared Margrethe of Denmark 'first lady of Sweden and her lawful mistress' (Sweden was an elective rather than an hereditary monarchy). See Hopkins, *Women*, 1991, pp. 20-23.

³⁸ *Olympiae Fulviae Moratae ... diuinae orationes, dialogi, epistolae, carmina*.

³⁹ *Caroli Utenhovii F. ... XENIA*. Dedication: *Ad Elizabetham Sereniss. Angl. Franc. Hib. &c. Reginam*. Similarly, in an acrostic on the Queen in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat 18592 (Utenhove's letters), 40^{r-v}, he hails her as a compendium of female worthiness, at once, an Abigail, Esther, Judith, Anna, and Susanna.

⁴⁰ A collection of polyglot verses on Queen Elizabeth which Utenhove presented to William Cecil in February, 1561, with versions of the same poem in Hebrew, Latin, Greek, French, and English. London, Public Record Office, SP 70/48, fols. 4^v-9^f. Address on fol. 1 is Mons. Iambassadeur d'Angleterre (Date is 1 January, 1562).

⁴¹ Johannes Sauerbrei, *Diatriben*, pt II (response by Jakob Smalcus), sigs F. 1^v and F2^{r-v}. F2^v: *erat in literis Latinis et Graecis versata, et in poesi satis felix, uti memini me deprehendisse ex plurimis ejus epistolis latinis et variis epigrammatis (quorum atque ad serenissima Angliae Reginam Elizabetham) libro alicui inscriptis*.

Reginam,⁴² and there are other long Latin poems by Baudius and Dousa.⁴³ Paul Melissus's admiration for her has already been noted.⁴⁴

William Cecil, one of Elizabeth's chief advisers, was one of the most obviously humanist figures at Elizabeth's court, as Jan van Dorsten has pointed out.⁴⁵

Unlike Dudley, [Cecil] was a scholar, a lover of books, and a man of great intellectual curiosity. He and his wife Mildred ... had their children tutored to a high degree of erudition, and in their house Classical studies, philosophy and science, and at least certain kinds of poetry and music could seek refuge. Indeed, Cecil House was England's nearest equivalent of a humanist salon since the days of More.

This is confirmed by Utenhove, who described him as 'another Maecenas for our age'.⁴⁶ But the humanist élite of the court was a very small one. William Cecil and his wife were generous and systematic patrons, and so, as van Dorsten implies, was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.⁴⁷ Few others can be named. The Howards, both male and female, were conspicuously learned, and so were their relations the Arundels; Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, hired no less a humanist than Franciscus Junius (senior) to educate his daughters,⁴⁸ but they were not conspicuous either as writers or patrons.

Other court figures of the early part of Elizabeth's reign who were distinguished as humanists included Roger Ascham, the Queen's Latin tutor, Thomas Wilson, and perhaps Walter Haddon.⁴⁹ It is also not often observed in discussions of the Elizabethan court that some of its rather limited cultural production was by women. In this first half of the reign, one of the most able Latin poets produced by the court was Lady (Elizabeth) Russell, the younger sister of Mildred, Lady Burleigh. She was sufficiently intimate

⁴² Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Dupuy 460, fols. 179^r-182^v. Thou, or Thuanus, was a well-connected French humanist poet, the author of an extensive oeuvre in Latin.

⁴³ *Leicester's Triumph*, pp. 28-29.

⁴⁴ Apart from the exchange mentioned above, Melissus also wrote, and published, *Ode Pindarica ad ... Elizabetham Britannae, Franciae, Hiberniaeque reginam*.

⁴⁵ Van Dorsten, 'Mr Secretary Cecil', pp. 28-37, p. 31. Both William and Mildred Cecil clearly acted as the patrons of a variety of humanist poets and intellectuals, such as Utenhove, Franciscus Junius, Daniel Rogers, as well as Anglo-Latin poets such as John Herd, Giles and Phineas Fletcher, and Christopher Ockland.

⁴⁶ Paris, BnF, Lat 18592 (a collection of Utenhove's letters), fol. 40: *nostrique Moecenas es alter seculi*.

⁴⁷ Rosenberg, *Leicester, Patron of Letters*.

⁴⁸ Van Dorsten, *The Radical Arts*, 1970, p. 131.

⁴⁹ Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 21; May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, pp. 32, 43.

with the Queen that, when her first husband Sir Thomas Hoby died as ambassador to France in 1566, Elizabeth I sent her a personal letter of condolence, which includes the pledge, 'we would have you rest yourself in quietnes, with a firm opinion of our especiall favour towards you'.⁵⁰

Elizabeth Russell was the author of at least twelve poems in Latin, Greek and English. Not one is on her royal mistress; they all relate to her own family or her Berkshire neighbours.⁵¹ Similarly, the only surviving poem of Lady Mary Cheke, one of Elizabeth's most intimate and long-serving associates throughout her reign, is merely an answer to an epigram by the Queen's godson, John Harington.⁵² The 'Cult of Elizabeth' was a public affair. It does not seem to have formed part of the Queen's relationship with her actual intimates. The only aristocratic woman poet who struck a note of adulation comparable to that of non-court poets such as Spenser was the Countess of Pembroke, in 'Thenot and Piers', which has already been quoted; and she did so as part of elaborate literary preparations for the Queen's visit to Wilton, and consequently, in a context in which both the Countess and the Queen were performing a public role.

Despite this individual humanist patronage, and the genuine support which these individuals gave to scholarship and Latin literature, the Elizabethan age is primarily one of translations, produced in enormous variety from Latin and Greek, and from modern languages, particularly Italian and French.⁵³ The sheer number of translations from Classical texts is itself an indication that there were considerably more people interested to master the contents of classical texts than were able easily to read them. All the same, as Steven W. May has conclusively demonstrated, such verse as was actually produced at court in the first ten to fifteen years of the reign was almost entirely in Latin. Sir Philip Sidney's transformation of English poetry was initiated only in 1577, by which time Elizabeth had been reigning for nearly two decades.⁵⁴

If we now turn to the question of the court's literary production in English, it is remarkable how gradually and inconsistently the complex of ideas which we might identify as embodying the Continental renaissance arrived at the English court. Almost everything we think of as belonging to an 'Elizabethan golden age' dates to the 1580s and '90s, and very little of it was fostered by the Queen, or formed part of court culture. As Alastair Fox

⁵⁰ Ellis, *Original Letters*, vol. II, pp. 229-230.

⁵¹ See May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, pp. 363-365; Stevenson and Davidson, *Early Modern Women Poets*, pp. 44-47.

⁵² Stevenson and Davidson, *Early Modern Women Poets*, pp. 21-22.

⁵³ Mathiessen, *Translation*.

⁵⁴ May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, pp. 41-52

has pointed out, Elizabeth's chief ministers did not rate literary talent highly as a commendation for preferment or reward.⁵⁵

In many respects the English-language literary culture of Elizabeth's court, as it developed in the second half of the reign, was an amalgam of renaissance elements (such as allegory, Petrarchanism, and the imitation of Italian models, particularly Ariosto) with elements of the chivalric tradition and an indigenous English poetics looking back to the middle ages. In consequence, it risked appearing quaint or inept to French, Spanish, or Italian observers. To assert that the literature of Elizabeth's court was fully Renaissance would be as tendentious as to assert that English architecture in her reign had fully absorbed the influences of the Continental avant-garde, or had had any aspiration towards so doing.⁵⁶ This paradox can be seen in all the Tudor arts: there is no steady process of development in the assimilation of the new learning, rather, there are aspects of the court culture of Henry VIII which are more patently 'Renaissance' than those of Elizabeth. Everywhere in Europe, kings and their courts raised palaces influenced by Classical architecture, and in England too, the second half of the sixteenth century was an age of passionate builders, but the Queen of England herself built nothing. Similarly, she recruited no foreign artists or musicians of first rank.⁵⁷ Though in the field of music, both Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, members of the Chapel Royal, were admired abroad, English painting lagged behind the achievements of both the Low Countries and Italy.

Instead, one of the Queen's principal modes of expressing and consolidating her relationship with her people was the essentially medieval one of the royal progress. She moved about the country in great splendour, putting herself and her court on display before the eyes of the citizenry of town after town. It is worth observing that while these progresses were fabulously costly to those whom she visited, unlike the medieval royal progresses on which they were modelled, they were not a device to save money: Cecil calculated that they added at least £2,000 a year to the expenses of the household.⁵⁸ The

⁵⁵ Fox, 'The complaint', pp. 229-257, esp. p. 235.

⁵⁶ On which see Mowl, *Elizabethan and Jacobean Style*. Mowl makes a strong argument in favour of an Elizabethan aesthetic of abundance which was not in any sense a failure to absorb Classical models, but a rejection of them: 'Classicism can act as the controlling factor in a building's design or as a mere decorative trim. In the years of Elizabeth and James, it usually functioned as the latter'. Elizabeth's favourite palace was her father's wholly unclassical building, Nonsuch (p. 72): Mowl also notes the Earl of Leicester's rejection of Classical models in his reconstruction of Kenilworth as a palace (p. 74), and suggests that this rejection was strongly influential on subsequent Elizabethan palace architecture.

⁵⁷ Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture*, p. 16.

⁵⁸ Loades, *Tudor Court*, pp. 23-24.

progresses were far more significant in the life of the court than the entertainment of humanists, or the patronage of artists and musicians.

It is a curious reflection that Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, with its self-conscious antiquarian 'medievalising' is contemporary with the tomb of Elizabeth's old governess Blanche Parry at Bacton in Herefordshire which shows Blanche on her knees before an idealised, seated figure of Elizabeth, clearly based on medieval images of suppliants kneeling to the Virgin, and further embellished with rough-hewn verses (probably written by some member of her family rather than by Blanche Parry herself) which could have been written a hundred years earlier.⁵⁹ Blanche Parry was no more than a gentlewoman, but she was a personage of the court for half a century: she was a lady of the Queen's bedchamber from 1558 till 1596, one of Elizabeth's most intimate servants, almost a friend. Spenser's archaism was in fact, taking place from the standpoint of an English renaissance which was far from achieved or consolidated – it is also salutary to note that it was Blanche Parry, not Edmund Spenser who was a courtier and intimate of the queen.⁶⁰ From these two instances alone it is possible to see just how perilous it is to talk about the mediaeval giving way to the renaissance in an English context: it is more helpful to think of them as alternative styles — like italic and secretary handwriting — both of which continued to be available throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and were used in different degrees and for different purposes.

Sir Henry Lee's farewell as Queen's Champion in 1590 is a moment worth pausing on.⁶¹ Lee was bowing out, a figure of the first half of the reign, handing over his role to a much younger man, the Earl of Cumberland. As we turn now from a consideration of the culture of the first half of the reign, Latinate, cautiously humanist, and only to a very limited extent concerned with writing in English, to the second half, which is dominated by literary production in the vernacular, this is an important moment of transition. The very idea of the Queen's Champion looks back to the High Middle Ages, but further, Lee's poem ends:

Goddess, accord this aged man his right
To be your bedesman who was once your knight.

⁵⁹ Illustrated in Nikolaus Pevsner's *Buildings of England*, Herefordshire, pp. 69-70. The verses begin, 'I[ohn] Parrye hys doughter Blaenche of New courte borne'.

⁶⁰ 'At best ... Spenser momentarily penetrated the chamber, establishing a temporary and superficial acquaintance with the queen and her courtiers' (May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, p. 34).

⁶¹ Lee's authorship of 'Sir Henry Lee's Farewell to the Court' and a related poem is championed by Clayton, "Sir Henry Lee's Farewell to the Court", pp. 268-275.

With 'goddess', we are, perhaps, in renaissance territory. But when he envisages a future as a 'bedesman', leaving it ambiguous whether he is praying to the queen, or for her, he sounds more like a figure out of Malory than one out of Ariosto. Lee and other tournament participants repeatedly made use of the figures of 'knight and hermit';⁶² while it could be argued that the whole concept of the tournament pageant lent itself to archaising, when Leicester entertained the Queen at Kenilworth, he did so with a show that depicted her as King Arthur returned, and Leicester as the guardian of Arthur's castle.

Philip Sidney is one of the most influential literary figures of the second half of the reign. While his sonnets on the whole look securely renaissance (they certainly seem most at ease in the Italian manner), it is perhaps important to remember that his relationship with the court was not a simple one – certainly he was not central in the way in which conventional Anglo-American literary history would hold him to be central. He spent a great part of his short life abroad; after his precocious embarkation on a diplomatic career (he was only twenty-two when he went to Prague to present the queen's condolences to Rudolf II on his predecessor's demise), the Queen denied him political advancement through the 1580s until his death, at only thirty-one, outside Zutphen.⁶³ His sister the Countess of Pembroke, who edited his work and diligently promulgated his legend, was seldom at court either: their mother had been so significant among the Queen's ladies that it was she who had the momentous task of nursing Elizabeth through smallpox (losing her own looks in the process),⁶⁴ but in the next generation, the Sidneys were kept very much on the margins by Elizabeth.⁶⁵ Philip and Mary's brother Robert was only ennobled and rewarded under James and Anne, whose chamberlain he became.

At court, the chief manifestation of the mediaevalising backward glance was the chivalric metaphor which runs through so much of the verse directed to Elizabeth. It is notable how consistently the content is pre-Petrarchan in its metaphor of the knight in service of the ideal quasi-

⁶² Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, pp. 152-153.

⁶³ Tennenhouse, *Power on Display*, p. 35, notes that Sidney, despite his importance in the literary context, failed to earn a respected position in the government. See also Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, p. 56.

⁶⁴ Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, p. 17.

⁶⁵ Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, p. 127: 'By the 1590s, the Sidneys had earned a reputation for speaking boldly on matters of state, particularly in defence of the Protestant cause. After Sir Philip had been rusticated for making many of the same objections to the Alençon match that cost the Puritan John Stubbs his hand, the family substituted the use of privileged genres for direct discourse with the Queen'. For Mary's career at court, see May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, pp. 343-345.

supernatural lady, for all its discourse of discoveries and exploration (often argued fallaciously to be renaissance manifestations in themselves, as opposed to themes contemporary with the revival of learning).

But it is important to recognise that much of what we think of as illustrating the 'Astraea' theme, or 'the cult of Elizabeth' does not, in fact, emanate from the court.⁶⁶ Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is influenced by imported Renaissance romance-texts such as that of Ariosto in its scope and its references, although its purpose is Ariostean in a much more problematic way, but Spenser's vast tissue of allegory, mythography and advice was being spun in exile in Ireland, and as we have seen, Spenser himself was not a courtier. It is easy to imagine that Spenser bore roughly the same relationship to the Tudor court as Ariosto bore to the d'Este of Ferrara – or that Vergil bore to the emperor Augustus – but it is not the case.

The nearest thing to a major statement on Elizabethan courtliness which emanates from the court itself is the fragmentary work of Spenser's patron, Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain of the Queen's Guard, a court position he held from 1587.⁶⁷ For an Ariostean moment, we must look to Raleigh's life, and not his writing: disgraced and in the Tower of London, on account of his clandestine marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton, he fell into 'a greate distemper', touched off by the sight of the royal barge on the Thames – as his kinsman Sir Arthur Gorges reported to Robert Cecil, 'I feare Sir W Rawly: wyll shortly growe to be Orlando furioso: If the bryght Angelyca perseuer agaynst hyme a lyttle longer'.⁶⁸

Raleigh's *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia* is a synthesis of various ways in which men in the royal circle were encouraged to think of themselves and to write about themselves. The poem survives in part, and in a highly ambiguous form: a clearly fragmentary manuscript in Hatfield House, in Raleigh's own hand, contains 'The 21th: and last booke of the Ocean to Scinthia' and 'The end of the 22 Boock, entreating of Sorrow'.⁶⁹ Elizabeth herself was given to puns and loose verbal associations, so it is appropriate to read 'the Ocean' as Water, which is to say, Walter, while of course, Cynthia is another name for Diana – the moon which draws the seas, and hence, the virgin Queen.⁷⁰ The central metaphor or idea of this loose and intriguingly

⁶⁶ For 'Astraea' see Yates, *Astraea*, pp. 29-87 See also Strong, *The Cult*, pp. 17-55.

⁶⁷ Greenblatt, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 74.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 76-77, Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 1729, fol. 177.

⁶⁹ Latham, ed, *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, from Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 144/238a-247b.

⁷⁰ Sir Christopher Hatton, for instance, was playfully addressed by her as 'Mutton', or spiralling on from that, 'Sheep', 'Bellwether', while Archbishop Whitgift was her white gift, or by reversal, her little black husband.

improvisatory poem is that Elizabeth, the remote changeable moon is like the moon, everywhere – the visible or invisible centre of the poem's cosmography. The peculiar achievement of the poem is that it takes the chivalric or courtly-love concept of dying for an unattainable lady, and links it with the condition of the Elizabethan adventurer, such as Raleigh himself was: the knight becomes the explorer.⁷¹

To seeke new worlds, for golde, for prayse, for glory,
To try desire, to try loue severed farr,
When I was gonn, shee sent her memory
More stronge than were ten thowsand shippes of warr.

The poem sets Elizabeth as the centre of the world: it looks as if the image which the queen and servants such as Cecil and Bacon had devised was internalised by Raleigh for his own purposes.

No other powre effecting wo or blisse
Shee gaue, shee tooke, shee wounded shee appeased.

Like Spenser there is melancholy in Raleigh's voyages – the relationship with the mythologised Queen cannot, by definition, be consummated, and similarly, the enterprise of exploration is fraught with dangers and failures

Alone, forsaken, frindless onn the shore
With many wounds, with deaths cold pangs inebrased,
Writes in the dust as on what could no more
Whom love, and time, and fortune has defaced ...

so that his condition, like that embraced by his protégé Spenser, is that of the faltering historian or inscriber of England in history as well as that of the dying explorer/knight.

As if when after Phebus is dessended
And leuues a light mich like the past dayes dawninge ...

Wee should beginn by such a partinge light
To write the story of all ages past
And end the same before th'aprochinge night.

⁷¹ Latham, ed, *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 27-28.

The middle-ground between Sidney and Raleigh is occupied by Sidney's younger brother Robert, whose poems were only identified and published in the later twentieth century. Robert begins a sonnet sequence to his wife but is overtaken by the sheer power of the metaphors of chivalric wanderings and exploration which attend the figure of Elizabeth. Like his brother he had the marginal appointment of governor of Flushing (Vlissingen, in Zeeland) in the Netherlands, so, although not an explorer, he was experienced in the uncertainties of sixteenth-century sea travel:⁷²

On unknown shore, with weather hard distressed
 The fainting mariner so fears the night
 As I, who in the day's declining light
 Do read the story of my wrack of rest.

And neatly then the rest of the sonnet moves precise from Raleigh's to his brother's imagery of light and light withheld:

The sun lodged in your eyes, heavens in your breast ...

Sad night, to be more dark, your stay puts on,
 And in your failing paints her black aspect;
 Yet sees a mind more dark for your neglect.

In short, the literary culture of Elizabeth's reign is not centred on a bountiful Renaissance monarch, dispensing patronage with wise liberality. Instead, it is centred on a personage who more closely resembles the remote and powerful lady of the medieval cult of courtly love. The advantage of this particular cultural turn to Elizabeth herself is very obvious. According to the conventions of courtly love, the Lady was not required to make reciprocal gestures. And Elizabeth was parsimonious, because she was not wealthy, and had very limited powers of raising money. Again and again, we find that her servants, far from being rewarded, were forced to spend lavishly on her behalf, as Leicester did in the Low Countries.⁷³ The rhetorical posture which made her changeless, semi-divine, adored, her reciprocity carefully limited to acknowledgement of her devotees' hopeless passion, was an entirely suitable one for a ruler in so weak a financial position.

Having considered the court community, and the literary culture of the court, I want now to turn to less familiar modes of courtly self-fashioning. If one attempts to assess the court culture of Elizabeth by the simple but cru-

⁷² Croft, ed, *The Poems of Robert Sidney*, p. 21.

⁷³ Van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*, p. 73.

cial means of asking what courtiers spent their money on, we would find that even the most committed patrons of artists, poets and translators spent a far greater proportion of their income on clothes than they did on the arts.⁷⁴ It was an aspect of Elizabethan court culture which impressed foreign contemporaries. In 1595, Breuning von Buchenbach, an ambassador from Duke Frederick of Württemberg, commented that ‘at no other court have I ever seen so much splendour and such fine clothes’.⁷⁵ Probably the central purpose of this splendour was to mark and preserve status differentials within English society; but another, by no means negligible, was to preserve the reputation and status of the English in an international context by displays of calculated magnificence. Rulers such as Henry VIII and Henri II impressed foreigners by taking an active part in tournaments, demonstrating their fitness to rule by their personal prowess in this dangerous sport. Henry VIII was badly injured on at least one occasion; Henri II actually died as the result of a joust. Elizabeth could do no such thing; she was required by her gender to seek alternative means of expressing her personal qualities. If she could not actively demonstrate the unhesitating personal courage which was taken so seriously by contemporaries – since it illuminated the always important question of whether a threat of war was, or was not, serious – she could at least demonstrate that England was rich (which it was not), and consequently, to be taken seriously.

The fine clothes of her courtiers were not personal acts of self-expression, they were the cost of participation in public life. As necessities, therefore, they were not necessarily paid for out of surplus or income. Ben Jonson in *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599) says of a would-be courtier, ‘twere good you turned four or five hundred acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparel’, and neither jested nor exaggerated.

Queen Elizabeth, in the last four years of her reign spent £9,535 a year on clothes: this has frequently been taken as an index of her personal vanity, but, as in the time of her father, it was evidently perceived as a political necessity (her successor James spent far more). The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Fortescue, told the House of Commons in February 1593: ‘as for her apparel, it is royal and princely, beseeming her calling, but not sumptuous nor excessive’, a statement which does not seem to have been met with incredulity.⁷⁶ A not-excessive wardrobe for a queen translated, according to the inventory made in 1599, into some 1,326 items, including

⁷⁴ This point is also made by Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 38.

⁷⁵ Von Klarwill, *Elizabeth I and some Foreigners*, p. 376.

⁷⁶ Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, p. xvii, quoting Simonds D'Ewes, *The Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 473.

robes that had belonged to Edward VI and to Mary Tudor which were periodically remodelled.⁷⁷

Thus dress was, in itself, an art pertaining to courtiers, and was very elaborately codified. The degrees of fineness were subtly perceptible to contemporaries: for example, the extreme pretentiousness of the parvenu Sir Walter Raleigh's clothes was noticed, and not with approval. Similarly, when one of the Maids of Honour, Lady Mary Howard, wore 'more finery that became [her] state', the Queen's rage was spectacular.⁷⁸

Another aspect of court dress is also significant. We are familiar from both literature and paintings of the ways in which colour-choice was encoded and read: the Earl of Oxford notes, 'blacke and Tawnie will I weare, which mournyng colours be',⁷⁹ similarly, a 'Gentlewoman' links 'green' with youth, 'purple and blew' with 'fast love and faith'.⁸⁰ But embroidery, fashionable throughout Elizabeth's reign, increased the subtlety of the messages which could be sent, and was an art in which élite women, who were often themselves practitioners, were connoisseurs. Apart from Queen Elizabeth herself, quite a number of women of the court also embroidered. The Countess of Pembroke, not only a poet, but a woman who received more literary dedications than any other except the Queen, was also sought as a patron for needlework patterns.⁸¹ We see, both in portraits of Elizabeth herself, and in paintings of some of her ladies, the use of emblematic or encoded designs, which we also find, in deadly earnest, in the embroideries associated with her cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots. The use of symbolic embroideries was fashionable from the 1580s, and continued into the Jacobean period: in 1600 the heiress Elizabeth Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, was painted in a dress embroidered with ivy, owls, snakes biting their tails, and rabbits: wisdom, eternity, fertility.⁸² Thus, design, cost, colour, decoration, were all capable of carrying meaning to contemporaries. The courtier, in his or her own time, was potentially legible.

If we consider Elizabethan court culture, we should, I think, be concerned to think of the modes of communication and self-expression which seem to have been taken most seriously by the Elizabethan court itself. Dress should not be underestimated: in the field of connoisseurship, embroidery and tapestry were probably more significant than painting: with the exception of the miniature-painters, creators of costly, jewel-like objects for

⁷⁷ Ashelford, *The Art of Dress*, p. 37.

⁷⁸ The story is told in Harington, *Nugae Antiquae*, II, pp. 139-140.

⁷⁹ May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, pp. 271-272.

⁸⁰ Stevenson and Davidson, *Early Modern Women Poets*, pp. 155-156.

⁸¹ Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, pp. 129-130.

⁸² Painting, attrib. Marcus Gheeraerts the younger, in a private collection, illustrated in *Dynasties*, no. 122, pp. 179-180.

strictly aristocratic consumption, Elizabethan painters were artisans. There was little, if any, court interest in collecting paintings by famous foreign artists until after the accession of James.⁸³ It was the ephemeral arts, dress, the accession day tournaments, the entertainments that punctuated royal progresses, which were the principal ways in which the queen and her courtiers expressed and articulated their relationship to one other, and to the country.

⁸³ John Buxton suggests that the first English connoisseur was Sir Henry Wotton, who had spent many years abroad in Venice and the Low Countries, and therefore absorbed foreign cultural influences. *Elizabethan Taste*, London, Macmillan, 1963, pp. 102-103.

THE MARRIAGE OF MATTHIAS CORVINUS TO BEATRICE
OF ARAGÓN (1476) IN URBAN AND COURT
HISTORIOGRAPHY

Volker Honemann

In December 1476 Matthias I Corvinus, king of Hungary, took as his second wife Beatrice of Aragón, daughter of Ferrante of Aragón, king of Naples.¹ The lavish celebrations of the wedding demonstrated how important politically this union was to Matthias. He had earlier been rebuffed several times in his desire to marry the Polish princess Jadwiga, mainly by the stigma of a low birth that was to affect him during his entire life. Matthias's father, Johannes Hunyadi, had been governor of Hungary for the Emperor without being king, and the House of Hunyadi could not be traced further back than to the fifteenth century – enough reason for the dynasties of the time to give this Hungarian parvenu the cold shoulder.² In these circumstances, Matthias took up an offer that had been made in 1465 by king Ferrante of Naples to 'marry one of his daughters'. In the summer of 1474 a Hungarian embassy led by the archbishop of Kalocza and Miklós Bánfi was despatched to Naples to woo the bride. Although news of the success of this embassy reached Hungary by 30 October 1474, it would still be two years before the marriage was consummated. Matthias was heavily engaged by the Turkish Wars, while at the same time the marriage contract itself (June 1475) was not something that could be negotiated at short notice. When the wedding invitations had finally been sent around in May 1476, a strong delegation of 800 departed the court in August to fetch the bride. At the beginning of October it returned with the bride, reaching 'Hungarian territory on the other side of Pettau in mid-November' after a rather perilous voyage due to the dangers posed by the Turks.³

¹ The best modern account is in Hoensch, *Matthias Corvinus*, pp. 148-151. It is – inevitably – based on the report of Peter Eschenloer; see below. Corvinus's first wife, Katerina, daughter of Georg of Podiebrad, had died in 1464, after a marriage of only three years.

² For the Hunyadi family see the genealogical table in Hoensch, ed, *Matthias Corvinus*, p. 328, note 1, and p. 148ff for Corvinus's problematical status; see also Honemann, 'Herrscheradventus', p. 3.

³ See Hoensch's representation (*Matthias Corvinus*), p. 149ff, quotation on p. 150.

The ensuing celebrations lasted from 10 December 1476 until 6 January 1477. Besides the wedding, they also included Beatrice's coronation as queen of Hungary; the combined festivities have been related in two contemporary chronicles. The first is the most notable vernacular chronicle of fifteenth-century Silesia, written by the town scribe of Wrocław, Peter Eschenloer (†1481), between 1475 and 1479.⁴ The other is a chronicle that was compiled at the court of Matthias Corvinus by the Italian humanist Antonio Bonfini (born 1427/8 in Ascoli Piceno), who since early 1487 had been a guest there as a reader to the Queen, and acted as a translator and a later historiographer. At Budapest Bonfini he wrote his *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, a 'shining example of humanist historiography', which also records the Stuhlweißenburg-Ofen coronation and wedding celebrations.⁵ In modern, secondary literature these two accounts are often regarded as examples of either late-medieval urban or court-influenced humanist historiography. It is my aim in the present essay to compare them, and to determine whether these characterisations are justified.

Peter Eschenloer's account in the Geschichte der Stadt Breslau

Peter Eschenloer, who often represented Wrocław at important occasions concerning 'foreign policy',⁶ did not personally attend the wedding and coronation in Stuhlweißenburg and Ofen, possibly due to his low rank. Instead, the town sent a delegation of members of the council. Such a high-ranking delegation was appropriate and very much in the political interest of the town because Matthias Corvinus, as king of Bohemia, was also lord over Silesia and its 'capital', Wrocław. An *Instruktion der Breslauer Ratmannen für ihre Gesandten zur Hochzeit des Königs* (part of the *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum*) reveals that the Wrocław town council sent

⁴ Cf. Roth, ed, *Peter Eschenloer*. Eschenloer had been town scribe of Wrocław since 1455 and as such he stood at the head of the municipal administration; for his life and work, see *ibidem*, pp. 1-24, and for the time of its writing, pp. 25-27. The German chronicle derives from a Latin *Historia Wratislaviensis* by Eschenloer, which ends in 1472.

⁵ Feo, 'Bonfini, Antonio'. For editions of this text, see below. For Bonfini's life, see *Ungarischer biographischer Index*, microfiche edition, here fiche 083, p. 238ff (including a reproduction of articles on Bonfini in David Czvitlinger, *Specimen Hungariae litteratae* and Georg Jeremias Haner, *De scriptoribus rerum hungaricarum* as well as numerous other entries). See also Apró's introduction to his edition *Antonius Bonfini, Symposion de virginitate et pudicitia coniugali* (p. iii ff).

⁶ Cf Roth, ed, *Peter Eschenloer*, vol. I, p. 13ff: 'Eschenloer as delegate of his town', with a directory of his foreign missions.

three of its most distinguished members to Stuhlweißenburg: Lucas Eysenreich, Johannes Haunolt and Hieronymus Schewrlein. At the same time it contains the note:

*Item gedencket an meister Petirn statschreiber, als er euch gebeten hat zubeschreiben die geste uf der hochzeit, geistlich und wertlich, und was sust do trefflichs gescheen möchte etc. und wie die königliche prawte und mit weme einkommet.*⁷

[Remember that Master Peter, town scribe, has asked you to describe both the spiritual and secular guests at the wedding, and all occurrences worthy of note, etc. and how the royal bride entered and with whom.]

It must be on the report of these three councillors – and probably on other oral information as well – that the rather extensive, colourful description of the Stuhlweißenburg wedding is based, which Eschenloer provides us with in his chronicle. His description consists of pieces with separate headings (*Wie konigis Mathie hochzeit gescheen sint mit des konigis von Neapolis tochter* [‘How the wedding of King Matthias with the daughter of the king of Naples came to pass’], p. 989, and *Were vff die hochzeit kam* [Who came to the wedding], p. 993); in the printed edition of the text it comprises no less than twelve pages (pp. 989-1000). The following concise sketch of the course of events will be followed by a discussion of elements that are of particular importance.

On 2 June 1476, Matthias Corvinus invited a large number of princes and lords (*Herren*) – among whom were Emperor Frederick III, his son king Maximilian I, and the Polish king Władisław – to his wedding, *vff Sand Lucas Tag* [‘on St Luke’s Day’: 10 October]. The invitations were delivered by high-ranking messengers. At the beginning of August, a distinguished and splendidly attired embassy set out for Naples to fetch the bride and bring her to Hungary, and in the meantime, king Matthias ordered the improvement and the new erection of several buildings in Ofen, whose purpose was to house the new queen and her chambermaids. The embassy was duly received in Naples, the bride handed over, and the return journey was undertaken. On 6 December the party reached Hungary and was greeted in Pettau by one of the Hungarian magnates, the queen-mother and twenty virgins, who escorted Beatrice to Stuhlweißenburg, the old Hungarian city of kings and coronations.⁸ Meanwhile, Matthias and the

⁷ Kronthal and Wendt, ed, *Politische Correspondenz Breslaus*, no. 253, p. 200ff (1476, c. October), text also printed in Eschenloer, *Geschichte* (ed. Roth, p. 993).

⁸ Cf. Roth, ed, *Peter Eschenloer*, p. 989, lines 16-991, line 16.

assembled wedding guests were making their way to Stuhlweißenburg from Ofen. On 10 December they travelled half a mile out of the city to meet the bride in a place at which tents had been erected and the ground decorated with great swathes of blue fabric. Now, king Matthias strode out to the bride. On his right hand were the king of Bosnia and the embassy of the German princes, on his left the archbishops, bishops and prelates; the king's sword was carried before him. Beatrice of Aragón arrived in a splendid carriage, she descended and knelt before Matthias and was then led by him to one of the tents in which the bishop of Erlau made a welcoming speech in Latin, which Beatrice herself answered. Matthias and Beatrice thereafter rode into the city to the sound of trumpet blasts. On their way, duke Christoph of Bavaria and William Münchingen put on a *trefflich rennen* ['a fine jousting'] (p. 992, line 30ff.) – that is to say, a mock tournament. Once in Stuhlweißenburg the king and his bride were led into the cathedral by the assembled priests, the *Te deum laudamus* was sung, and Matthias took Beatrice to her lodgings (p. 991, lines 17-993, line 7).

The following day, 11 December, everyone went to Mass. Eschenloer describes in great detail the procession into the cathedral and the precisely determined seating order (p. 994, lines 1-21). The coronation followed the next day, with a Mass celebrated by the bishop of Vesprem, *dem es geburte* [to whom it fell to celebrate] (p. 995, line 3). The wedding guests took part in these ceremonies in *gesetzter ordenunge* ['predetermined rank'] but the Venetians *sich doran nich lissen gnügen, satzten sich selbis in hohir ordenunge* ['to whom this was not satisfactory, seated themselves in a place of higher rank'] (p. 994, lines 25-27).

The queen followed with the mother of king Matthias and other ladies and maidens, and she was led to a chair, draped with gold cloth and twelve steps up, in the choir of the church near the high altar. She wore a golden garment of red colour, and over that a taffeta (*Zindel*) robe of Romance style with low-cut sleeves; her hair was unbound and complemented with two rows of very round white pearls, which were very precious and magnificently mounted. (p. 994, lines 28-33).

For the coronation itself the (future) queen was attired differently: now she wore a regal dress which left her right shoulder and right arm bare (so that, according to Eschenloer's commentary, during the ensuing act of coronation, chrism and balm touched her skin directly). Eschenloer then proceeds to give a detailed account of the coronation (including the words spoken and, for example, the shape and value of the crown (p. 995, lines 12-996, line 2).

Thereupon, king Matthias was led to a *köstlichen stul* ['splendid chair'] (p. 996, line 3) before the high altar, from which seat he was to knight

outstanding participants in the celebrations. A banquet – for which the Venetians once again possessed themselves of better seats than those to which they were entitled – concluded the coronation (p. 996, lines 3-18).

On the following day, 13 December, the king with his new queen proceeded to Ofen, the capital of the realm, which they reached on 15 December and where they were met by lords (*Herren*), knights, servants, burgesses and Jews, who rode out to meet the procession. Closer to the town, duke Christoph and his men again performed a mock tournament. Upon arrival in the town, the king and queen were led into the main church, where a solemn *Te deum* was sung, after which they entered the castle. The treasurers (*Kämmerer*) of the king appeared in splendid livery, each sleeve embroidered with a device *mit eyne trawrigen mennlein und reyme, der lawtet* “*jch trawr vnd weis nicht worumb*” [‘with a sad little man, and a rhyme that read “I grieve, yet do not know why”’] (p. 997, line 15).⁹ Several ceremonial banquets followed over the next few days (the descriptions of these banquets make particular mention of the valuable silverware), along with tournaments and dances, and finally on 22 December, the Sunday before Christmas, there took place the marriage ceremony, which is only briefly mentioned in Eschenloer. As is to be expected, it, too, was followed by a banquet, the presentation of gifts to the new queen and the entrance of court jesters. The consummation of the marriage, which followed that same night, is merely alluded to before Eschenloer concludes his description of the wedding at Stuhlweißenburg with the following words: *Ydoch musten die geste alle bis noch der Hiligen Dreyer Konig tag harren, do lisse Mathias yderman heimczihen vnd nicht vnbegobt. In weynachthiligen tagen wart ein gros gesellen stechen mit rennen, mit cronlein, in hohen geczewgen* [‘The guests, however, had to remain until Epiphany, when Matthias allowed everyone to return home, but not without presents. During the twelve days of Christmas there was a great mock tournament with blunt spears, in beautiful armour’] (p. 1000, lines 24-27).

Eschenloer’s account of the ceremonies at Stuhlweißenburg and Ofen has a number of interesting aspects. He emphasises both the rank and number of the guests – some of whom had come from far and had been invited in good time. As a sovereign who still had to prove his high standing, Matthias realised the importance of detailed attention to this wedding-list. Eschenloer draws particular notice to these arrangements with the heading, *Were vff die hochzeit kam* [‘Who came to the wedding’] (p. 993, line 9), and in the following passage he recorded exactly who of those invited, did not attend, namely all the German princes, with the exception of

⁹ It has thus far been impossible to identify this device and to trace its use by Matthias Corvinus.

the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, who *jre erber botschafft dohin geschickt mit geborlicher erunge* [sent their embassies with the appropriate honour] (p. 993, line 12f.). No-one appeared on behalf of the Polish king, neither his eldest son nor his nobles, which Eschenloer explains by the fact that the Polish king had refused Matthias the hand of his daughter in marriage (she had instead been married to a duke). On Eschenloer's list (p. 993, lines 10-24), the number – and rank – of those not appearing exceeds that of the participants; this is of great significance, because his account of the wedding had commenced explicitly with the invitation of Corvinus's guests (p. 989, lines 18-990, line 7). Matthias had invited the Emperor, the king, all the princes – ecclesiastical as well as secular – , counts and lords (*Herren*) and the most important free cities, which amounts to just about every person of standing in the Empire, and also the king of Poland and all his relatives, *auch ken Venedigen, zum bobst vnd andiren fursten vnd herrschaften in walischen landen* ['also Venice, the Pope and other princes and lords (*Herrschaften*) in Italian and French lands'] (p. 990, line 2ff.), and, furthermore, of course, all his high subjects in the Bohemian kingdom. The messengers themselves who delivered these wedding invitations were of high and highest rank (bishops, princes and important prelates). The discrepancy between the small number of those who actually attended or were represented by envoys and those who were not present not have been greater. If Eschenloer emphasises this discrepancy so clearly, it is because it is meaningful to him in terms of the position of his own lord, the town council, in its relation to the context of the power of the dynasties; Eschenloer is all too aware of the concerns regarding the status of the Corvines, but he refrains from giving his opinion on the lack of high-placed wedding guests. Is this because his chronicle has a certain official character, as is made clear by the luxurious edition produced for the council which he represented? After all, both negative and positive assessments might be resented by the royal, Hungarian side.

Eschenloer's account gives an extraordinarily detailed presentation of the royal wealth. The richness of the clothing, jewellery, tableware and buildings, as well as the unusual duration of the celebrations – demonstrating the spending power of Matthias – all ensured that the coronation and wedding would demonstrate the splendour and glory of the Corvines throughout Europe. It is no accident that Eschenloer provides an inventory of the costs involved: 20,000 guilders alone for the invitations, for the dispatch whereof the envoys needed more than 1000 horses (p. 990, lines 1 and 6ff.).¹⁰ The envoys sent to Naples to fetch the bride were clothed

¹⁰ The specifying of an amount is something that would hardly have been possible in a chronicle commissioned by a prince. At a later point, too (p. 991, line 2ff.),

according to their rank: *den herren von guldenn, ritteren von sammot, knechten von damaschken vnd atlas, jren dinern allen rot pernisch gewant, durch Mathiam gecleidt* [the lords in gold, the knights in samite, squires in damask and atlas, their servants all dressed in red garments of Verona and all this provided by Mathias] (p. 990, lines 23-25). King Matthias himself and his retinue were, of course, even more lavishly dressed when he welcomed his bride to Stuhlweißenburg: the king was *mit alle den seinen gar scheinbarlich vnd czirlich in golde, silber, perlen vnd andiren edlin steinen gesmückt* [with all his people adorned appropriately and splendidly with gold, silver, pearls and other precious stones] (p. 991, line 23ff.). The bride allows Matthias to present her with *einen costlichen crancz mit eymeringe, dorynne ein schön diamant was sere czirlich gefasset* [‘a precious circlet (together) with a ring in which a beautiful diamond was most decorously set’] (p. 991, lines 34-992, line 1). An account of the splendour of her entourage follows (lines 3-10). The magnificence of the attires is described yet again at Beatrice’s coronation (p. 994, lines 30-33), which was apparently an important event, too, because in the course of the ceremony she was dressed in a *koniglich cleit* [‘royal gown’] (p. 995, lines 7-11), and a crown was placed on her head, to the beauty and value of which Eschenloer draws particular attention (p. 995, lines 29-31).¹¹ Besides giving a description of the magnificence of the clothing, Eschenloer gives a detailed account of the richness of the royal table in connection with a gala feast – and following this, a dance – to which king Matthias invited all his guests for Tuesday, 17 December 1476 (p. 997, lines 24-999, line 17). Just as with both the coronation and wedding celebrations, so here, too, we find that instrumental music and singing (pp. 992, line 24ff., 993, line 4ff., 994, line 16, 995, lines 3-5, 996, line 28, 997, line 7ff., lines 21-23, 1000, line

Eschenloer emphasises that there was *doran kein gelt gespart* [‘no expense spared on this’]. Here he reports the construction work in Ofen done to prepare the apartments of the new queen. As befits the presentation of splendour and power there is repeated mention of the number of horses which were provided; for example, the procession of the king to Stuhlweißenburg, in order to fetch his bride, needs 3000 horses (p. 991, line 20). The emphasis on the beauty and rarity of the horses serves the same purpose, such as when Matthias sent *sechs schöne hengste, in etlichen eytil weise, in etlichen eytil swarcz, in etlichen andirley farb geteilet, der gleichen kawm gesehen sint* [six beautiful stallions, in white, black and other colours, the likes of which have scarcely been seen] out to his bride – who was able to bring only pack animals from Naples – for each of her gilded wagons (p. 992, lines 7-9).

¹¹ Further descriptions were given, p.996, lines 25-28 (the magnificence of the clothing), (the burgesses of Ofen, who rode out to meet the new queen), p. 997, lines 4-17 (the entry into the cathedral), p. 998, lines 1-4 (dress at the banquet), p. 1000, lines 11-13 (the queen’s gown during the wedding ceremony).

9ff.) as well as mock tournaments (p. 992, lines 28-32, p. 999, lines 19-21, p. 1000, lines 17-19: a tournament of the court jesters) were not to be missed.

The celebration itself was divided into separate 'acts' (the seeking of the bride, riding out to meet her, church services, banquets etc.) which obviously had a precise, ceremonial structure. Eschenloer states a number of times that particular parts of the programme, such as the coronation, were carried out 'according to their order' or 'according to the order'. The exact, even 'Christian' order of seating in church (p. 994, line 25: *in jrer gesaczter ordenunge*; (p. 1000, line 1: *noch cristlicher ordenunge*) as well as that of the procession leaving the church (p. 996, line 9: *in ordenunge*) were clearly predetermined. Guests were led to table by Lord Waczla of Tsernahora, who was probably responsible, too, for 'order' at the royal feast, that is, the correct seating plan (p. 998, line 9 and 999, line 6: *noch ordenunge gesacz*t). Eschenloer immediately comments on any departure from this ceremonial order, for example, when the Venetian delegation repeatedly accorded themselves a higher rank (and better place), (p. 994, line 26ff. and 999, line 29ff., see also p. 996, line 14f.). King Matthias and his new queen, too, were firmly tied into the sequence of events: they had strict roles to play, determined for them by the 'order'.

Symbols of kingship and their interaction are of little importance to the burgher Eschenloer. Of course his narrative has to mention the royal sword, which was carried before Matthias (p. 991, line 29), the kneeling of the bride, who is immediately raised up by Matthias (p. 992, lines 13-15), as well as rhetorical flourishes, such as the welcoming speech by bishop Gabriel of Erlau (*aws befelhung Mathie eine kürcze schöne rede in latinischer czungen* ['according to Matthias's command a short, elegant oration in the Latin tongue']) and the princess's reply to it, apparently also in Latin (p. 992, lines 20-23¹²), the presentation and kissing of holy books (*Noch dem ewangelij trug der erzbischoff das buch zu kussen Mathie vnd seynir prawt* [after the Gospel the archbishop carried the Book to Matthias and his bride for them to kiss], p. 994, line 16ff, similar to p. 1000, line 5ff.), the presentation of the royal orb (*Reichsapfel*) (p. 995, lines 12-14¹³)

¹² Eschenloer speaks only of a *tugendliche und vornufftige* ['virtuous and sensible'] reply by Beatrice, but immediately afterwards explains that the bride appears to be *wol gelart vnd in latein sere gesprech vnd behende* ['well educated and much versed and fluent in Latin'] (p. 992, lines 22-24).

¹³ *Do was dornoch der konig von Bossen geschickt mit eyne koniglichen apfil vor den stul Mathie, do vor seine muter mit der prawt gestanden woren* ['Afterwards the king of Bosnia with a royal orb was sent before the throne of Matthias who stood before his mother with the bride']. The meaning of the Imperial Orb as part of the

and the holy imperial crown,¹⁴ the anointing of the new queen and her coronation in the course of the coronation festivities (p. 995, lines 6-11, 24-31¹⁵), the knighting by the king (p. 996, lines 3-8)¹⁶ and finally the royal arms (p. 997, line 15ff.). On the whole, however, Eschenloer's account imparts almost nothing of the sacred aspect of medieval monarchy or of the symbolic meaning of the coronation festivities. He presents the celebrations merely as ceremonial actions, whose value can only be measured in terms of their material worth.

In order to determine whether Eschenloer's narrative presents a typically urban view on monarchy, it can be compared with the account of the wedding in the chronicle of Antonio Bonfini. It must, however, be remembered, that Bonfini had come into the service of the Hungarian court only in early 1487, some ten years after the Stuhlweißenburg wedding. In 1488 he had been charged by Matthias Corvinus himself with the 'writing of a comprehensive Hungarian history in the spirit of humanism', which he completed in 1496. Bonfini solves the problem of Corvinus's descent from an 'until then [i.e. until the advent of his father, Johann Hunyadi] entirely insignificant family ... in the spirit of the dynastic panegyric cultivated at court'. He does this in such a way 'that he makes him [Matthias] a direct descendant of the Roman family Corvinus on his father's side, while according him a relationship with the Greek Imperial family and even Theodosius the Great on his mother's side'.¹⁷

Imperial *insignia*, (see Erler, 'Reichsapfel') was apparently no longer known to Eschenloer and his sources.

¹⁴ *Doruff ist gestigen Mathias mit der hiligen cron des konigreichs zu Hungern vffgesetzt, seine regalia anhabende* ['Onto the throne ascended Matthias with the holy crown of the Kingdom of Hungary on his head and wearing his regalia'] (p. 995, line 14ff.); this is a distinctly downbeat, brief and meagre description, which does not convey the special significance of St Stephen's Crown.

¹⁵ Eschenloer was apparently only interested in the material value of the crown with which Beatrice was crowned: *eine köstliche crone, reich von golde, dorein vorsaczt sein XXV grosse diamant, balas vnd rubin, ein schoner zaphir gros, nymant meynet einen köstlicheren gesehen hette* [a splendid crown, rich in gold, within which were set twenty-five large diamonds, white ruby and red ruby, a beautiful large sapphire, more valuable than anyone had ever seen] (p. 995, lines 29-31).

¹⁶ Here, too, the sobriety and rationality of the report attracts attention; Eschenloer concludes his explanations of the knighting with the words: *Do dis ritter slahen ein ende hatte ...* ['Thus the knighting came to an end ...'] (p. 996, line 8).

¹⁷ Cf. Hoensch, *Matthias Corvinus*, p. 25 with quotation of the relevant passages from the chronicle. Bonfini continued his chronicle after the death of Matthias Corvinus on the behalf of his successor, King Władisław II; to him he eventually dedicated his work. It was first printed in 1543 in Basel; see *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. I, B 6592. Further printed editions came out in 1568 (two in Basel, B 6593 and 6594)

Compared to Eschenloer's account of the Stuhlweißenburg wedding, that of Bonfini immediately demonstrates an important shift in emphasis. The *Rerum ungaricarum decades* begins with a detailed description of the invitation to the wedding and the ensuing journeys of the Hungarian dignitaries. Initially it is little more than a summary (p. 65, sections 8 and 9, or 307^v)¹⁸ with hyperbolic observations, but the manifest wealth – *vber den Persischen pracht ließ sich allda sehen* [the more than Persian splendour was striking] – of the envoys is then described in great detail (pp. 66-68, sections 35-42, or 308^{r-v}). Bonfini especially emphasises the rich demeanour of the various legates and their appearance at significant Italian courts (such as that of the duke of Urbino) and important towns. Among other demonstrations, they opened and exhibited the treasures from the sideboards and safe-chests which they had brought along [*Schatz von Credenztischen vnd Tresuren ... eröffnen vnd sehen lassen* (308^v, line 18)]. The climax here was the reception of the bishop of Wardein by the duke of Urbino, whom he presented with a most artfully designed, magnificent saltcellar, shaped like a mountain with caves filled with precious stones, and a golden serving jar – its lid in the form of a snail – out of which there crawled a dragon. Matthias's envoys were received everywhere *pro dignitate* (p. 67, section 45). Bonfini's account obviously aimed to demonstrate that the Hungarian king could compete with even the most significant Italian rulers. Thus the problem of Matthias Corvinus's doubtful standing – of which Bonfini must have been quite aware – is indirectly covered up. Beatrice's journey is described in similar detail, including her appearance before the *signori* of Venice, where she *ein so herrliche vnd zierliche Oration gehalten / daß menniglich frey bekannt / sie hette mehr verstands / dann sonst den Weibsbildern gebühren möchte* ['gave such a lovely and elegant oration / that it was widely acknowledged / that she possessed greater intelligence / than was commonly accorded to women'] (308^v, line 42ff.). Bonfini also waxes eloquent about the perils and terror which Beatrice suffered when she

and, in 1581, in Frankfurt am Main, B 6595). The chronicle was printed in early New High German translation in 1545 at Bern (B 6596 and 6597) and 1581 at Frankfurt am Main (B 6598). The last-mentioned print, which I use in the following, is *Vngerische Chronica. // Das ist Ein grundtliche beschreibung // deß (...) koenigreichs Vngern (...) Erstlich durch (...) Antonium Bonfinium in 45 Buechern in Latein beschrieben: Jetzt in Hochdeutsch gebracht ... Durch ... P.F.N. (...), Franckfurt am Meyn (...) 1581*. See the edition of the Latin original, *Antonius de Bonfinis, Rerum Ungaricarum decades* by Fögel, Iványi, Juhász and Kulcsár. The description of the wedding is in *Decas IV, Lib. IV* (= vol. IV, part I, pp. 63-70).

¹⁸ Page and section details refer here and in the following always to the Latin original, folio references to the German translation.

travelled through Dalmatia, which had only recently been devastated by the Turks, (308^v-309^r).

In comparison, Beatrice's reception by Matthias Corvinus in Stuhlweißenburg and the coronation and wedding in Ofen receive relatively brief treatment, although Bonfini time and again stresses Beatrice's extraordinary beauty and how much Matthias is in love with her.¹⁹ Like Eschenloer, Bonfini, albeit in summary, emphasises the special splendour of the festivities, but he ignores their ceremonial and symbolism. Quite different from that of the Wrocław chronicle, his interest lies with the main actors, and he depicts bride and groom especially as two people in love, who are also exceedingly intelligent. This approach might be seen as a development in the direction of humanist historiography as opposed to Eschenloer's late-medieval account, which is much more oriented towards things and processes.

Another aspect, too, is particular to Bonfini's account. For him the wedding is one of two large ventures, which Matthias has to manage simultaneously: *So hatte nun Koenig Matthias zwo grosser wichtiger sachen zuerrichten / nemlich den Krieg / vnd dann auch der Hochzeit außzuwarten. Er war in beyden dingen nich laessig / sondern erzeiget in diesen seine großmuotigkeit vnd macht.* ['Thus king Matthias had two great and important things to do / that is the war [against the Turks] / and also to await the wedding. He was not negligent in either / but showed his generosity and power in both.'] (introduction to the fourth book, p. 63 section 4, or 307r). Bonfini is keen to present Matthias Corvinus as a modern ruler who can act in a superior manner and who is able to direct two rather different challenges simultaneously. He proceeds to highlight the interdependence of these two events; for example, the Turks conquered several castles by taking advantage of the absence of their Hungarian defenders, who were in attendance at the wedding (p. 69 sections 62-64 or 309r-v). Thus Bonfini places the wedding within a perspective of world history.

A comparison of the accounts of the wedding of Matthias Corvinus and Beatrice of Aragón²⁰ in the two chronicles provides us with similarities as well as differences:

¹⁹ See also below, note 29.

²⁰ Other possible points of comparison between the two chronicles would be the accounts of the meeting between Matthias and George of Podiebrad in the field of battle (winter 1469/70) and the meeting with the Bohemian co-ruler Władisław (1474). In making such a comparison one must, however, bear in mind that Eschenloer, as opposed to Bonfini, knew most of the people involved personally, and that this knowledge possibly influenced his way of reporting and his interpretation of the events.

1. Eschenloer and Bonfini both understand that through its enormous expense and elaborate ceremonies, Matthias used the wedding as a major political tool for demonstrating his own political importance in Europe. Eschenloer contributes to this view by his wide-ranging and detailed report of the celebrations, while Bonfini does so by interpreting it as a part of further-reaching activities, if not quite a strategy: Matthias must manage a war and the wedding (307^r, lines 19-21) at the same time.²¹ Bonfini seeks to portray him as a prince who is able to think and act in world-historical relations. Eschenloer, on the other hand, does not put his account into such a general perspective, and he remains true to his Wrocław outlook.

2. The rich detail of Eschenloer's account obscures the fact that certain aspects of the in their entirety rather complex events were of special importance to him. One example of this is the list of the participants (including the special emphasis accorded all those who declined to come) which is inserted into the narrative (p. 993, lines 9-994, line 5). Bonfini's emphasis is markedly elsewhere. He shows hardly any interest in the details of the Stuhlweißenburg-Ofen wedding (see p. 68, sections 55-58 or 309^f, lines 25-33). This can only partly be explained by the fact that he writes well after these events had taken place. His account of the travels of the Hungarian embassies to his native Italy in connection with the wooing and marriage as well as that of the journey of the bride from Naples through Italy and the Balkans to Hungary is extremely detailed, whereas Eschenloer restricts himself to short statements concerning dress. Here one may detect a strategy on the part of the humanist and Italian Bonfini. By carefully documenting the splendour displayed by the envoys (see p. 67, sections 39-44 or 308^v, lines 17-19), as well as their eloquence and quickness of mind – demonstrated by the example of the bishop of Wardein (p. 67, sections 40, or 308^v, line 21f) – he shows that he is not dealing with transalpine barbarians, but with notables who are on a par with the Italian princes who received them.²² Bonfini himself does not reveal this strategy; he gives another reason for the magnificent welcome that the envoys were given in

²¹ These contradict each other in the demands they place on the monarch, see below: 4.

²² The point, that humanist Italy rather arrogantly expected that 'most of these *ultramontani* [...] had little intelligence' is shown by Vespasiano da Bisticci in his portrait of the bishop of Fünfkirchen. The highest praise he accords him was: 'Not only was there never another who came from beyond the mountains to Italy who was alike to him, one never saw an Italian of his age who could match him'; see Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV* (around 1485), here used in the German translation by Bernd Roeck: *Große Männer und Frauen der Renaissance*. 38 biographische Porträts. Selected, translated and introduced by B. Roeck, S. 197-201, quotations p. 197.

many Italian towns, but these arguments are not mutually exclusive. The envoys were *nach gebühr tractiert* [‘treated properly’], because they were the messengers of the single champion of Christendom against the Turks, that is of king Matthias, their lord (see p. 67, section 44, or 308^v, line 36f).

3. While Eschenloer mentions several essential aspects of the ceremonial action which had its origins in the symbolism of medieval kingship, Bonfini shows not the least interest therein, giving only the briefest, summary description: *Wie man nun alles angeschlagen / so geschahe es auch* [‘As it was planned / so it happened’] (p. 68, section 55, or 309r, line 28). Eschenloer’s account, it must be added, gives a sober reproduction of the *res factae* of the various ceremonies, but their symbolism – as in the anointing of the new queen – that is to say, their ‘surplus in meaning’, is not mentioned at all. He does, however, have a clear idea of how a royal wedding and coronation are to proceed. His criticism of the inappropriate behaviour of the Venetians clearly shows that he would have reproached other breaches of etiquette as well.

4. In Eschenloer’s account, every person attending the wedding and coronation is treated as a part of a great machinery; even Matthias and Beatrice are accorded almost no personal profile. Here again, Bonfini proceeds differently. He portrays his protagonists as intellectuals: the speech which Beatrice gives before the *signori* of Venice comes to mind (p. 67, section 46, or 308^v, line 42f). For him, too, they are superior human beings, distinguished by their beauty and their ethical and moral excellence. Thus Bonfini devotes much energy in reminding his readers of the beauty and virtue of Beatrice (p. 67, section 37f, or 308^v, lines 10-15, with a reference to his own paper on the new queen, p. 69, section 58, or 309^f, lines 34-37). He can even show his protagonists as lovers, curiously invoking the relationship between the gods Amor and Mars. The king’s love (which Bonfini repeatedly stresses, see the German text 308^v, lines 9ff. and 12ff., 309^f, lines 49-51) as well as the long delay of the wedding withhold him from waging war (*Dieser lange verzug der Hochzeit* (keeps) *deß Ko’nigs gemu’t / wie man sagt / nit wenig vom Krieg ab*) (*ibidem*, line 8ff), and love and marriage are clearly detrimental to military ventures. Thus Matthias postpones the planned conquest of the town of Semendria (compare p. 67f, section 47f, or 308^v, lines 53-55). Bonfini strengthens this argument when he maintains (p. 69, sections 62-65, or 309^f, line 51 – 309^v, line 15) that the Turks had immediately taken advantage of the fact that *fast gantz Vngerlandt* [‘almost all of Hungary’] (line 51) was in attendance at the wedding, and that they had set out for Semendria with 40,000 men and destroyed the three castles which Matthias had erected there, driving out their garrisons. At the same time the Turks invaded Dacia because they realised that the *Sibenbu’rger vnd Walacher* (line 7f) were also at the

wedding. Bonfini's conclusion is full of the catastrophic repercussions brought on by that event:

Die Hochzeit ward im Christmonat gehalten / | vnd geschahe eben im Winter den Christen viel schadens in Dalmatien / Mysien vnd Dacien / da= | uon der Ko^enig / vnd gantz Vngerland so gar erschlagen / daß man hinfort nichts verwegenlichs mehr | wider die Tu^ercken fu^ergenommen.

[The wedding was held at Christmastide / and thus in the winter the Christians suffered much damage in Dalmatia / Mysia and Dacia / which so stunned the king and the entire country / that henceforth nothing daring was undertaken against the Turks again.] (p. 70, section 66, or 309^v, lines 12-15)

This episode is followed by the argument between Corvinus and Emperor Frederick III.

5. To label the two chronicles as works of 'late-medieval' or rather 'humanist' historiography is of only limited use.²³ Once it is compared with works of high-medieval historiography, even Eschenloer's work displays such modern characteristics as a marked interest in detail and in economical matters (money spent on the embassies, the wedding, etc.). Eschenloer's chronicle can more accurately be understood as a product of the early modern chronicle tradition from an urban perspective. Bonfini's work, on the other hand, is a chronicle which encompasses a princely point of view with a humanist outlook.

²³ A comparison of this nature can be fundamentally productive. Honemann, 'Humanistische und und spätmittelalterliche Zeitgeschichtsschreibung', esp. p. 135 ('Prinzipien humanistischer Geschichtsschreibung') and p. 136 ('Fazit').

CHARLES V

José Martínez Millán

It is difficult to explain coherently the culture generated at Charles V's court. This is not only due to the diversity of political, religious and artistic manifestations which proliferated during his reign, but also even more to the large number and diversity of kingdoms the young Emperor managed to unite under his crown. All these kingdoms had their own cultural traditions and were ruled by very heterogeneous social elites who progressively dominated both the government sources as well as the Emperor's environment, imposing their own interests. When pursuing the origins of the Nation States in the Early Middle Ages, historians have not hesitated to relate the characteristics of current nationalisms to Charles V's performance, without giving any consideration to the complexity of the political evolution of his Empire.¹ As a result of this shortcoming, the interpretations of the cultural manifestations of his court are generally reduced to a succession of images without any influences among them or common thread running through them.²

Cultural Influences between Burgundy and Castile (1500-1529)

On the death of Philip the Handsome (1506), his son Charles inherited a vast territory. As he was still a child, the different court factions rushed to influence his environment. Faced with such pressure, his grandfather Maximilian established a Council of Regency (1507), where the most powerful patrons of the different court factions were represented, and made his daughter Margaret of Austria guardian of her nephew Charles. During this time, there were two opposing parties at the Flemish court, representing the English school and the French school respectively. Decisions made at court were thus fundamentally affected by the geographical location of territories belonging to the nobility and by personal as well as familial animosities. The Anglophile faction was headed by John of Luxembourg, together with other noblemen from the north of the Netherlands, such as Floris of Eg-

¹ Vivens Vives, 'Imperio y administración'. La historiografía alemana ha estado especialmente influenciada por this planteamiento. Cf. Rabe, 'Elemente'.

² Checa Cremades, *Carlos V*, p. 12; Gonzalo Sánchez-Melero, 'El humanismo áulico', vol. III, pp. 125-127.

mond, Duke Philip of Burgundy, and Margaret of Austria herself.³ Opposed to them, the pro-French faction was mainly represented by Chièvres and his family, Philibert Natural, Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Charles de Poupet, Lord of La Chaulx, and Philip Hameton.⁴

This balance of power came to exercise such pressure on Maximilian that, in 1508, he was forced to elect Chièvres as Prince Charles's *first chamberlain*, in the face of Margaret's opposition, a decision which would have important consequences in the future. The regent, for her part, could count on the financial and moral support of many Castilians, all partisans of Philip the Handsome, who had come to Flanders after having been excluded from power by the allies of Ferdinand the Catholic in the hope of regaining their lost positions as soon as Charles succeeded to the Castilian throne.⁵ Hard as Margaret fought to change this political situation so as to avoid losing her influence over the young Charles by establishing political agreements with Ferdinand the Catholic and Henry VIII, her diplomatic efforts were unsuccessful. Consequently, Chièvres and the French influence prevailed. Maximilian thus bowed to fate and proclaimed his grandson Charles's coming of age on 6 January 1515. From that moment on, both the Emperor and his daughter Margaret lost their influence over the young monarch and, consequently, over the Netherlands. The new court patrons were, in addition to Chièvres, Jean de Sauvage, the newly appointed chancellor, Antonio de Lalaing, in charge of finance, and Adrian of Utrecht.⁶

This situation at court contrasted with the effervescent social situation in the Spanish Kingdoms on Charles's arrival in Castile (1517). There, a political group, the supporters of Ferdinand the Catholic, had displaced the other party, the followers of Isabel the Catholic, and – after her death in 1504, Philip the Handsome, from government. Both parties immediately sought inclusion at Charles's court and tried to make friends with the grand lords in order to receive royal favours and grace. The 'Ferdinandites' did not share the French tendencies of the Chièvres group, but they were in control of the financial interests within the monarchy, which they used to win over the Flemish. Faced with such powerful arguments, the former supporters of the late Philip the Handsome, who did not hold any government positions, could do little, but insistently remind Charles of the loyalty with which they had served his grandmother, Queen Isabel the Catholic, and his parents, Philip and Joan, during their respective reigns. This paradoxical

³ Chabod, *Carlos V*, pp. 44-55.

⁴ Fagel, 'Un heredero', vol. I, pp. 120-122.

⁵ *Correspondencia de Gutierre Gómez de Fuensalida*, p. 350.

⁶ Walther, *Die Anfänge Karls V*, pp. 103-107.

situation led to a growing group of people being dissatisfied and in disagreement with Charles's Flemish government.⁷

From an ideological and a religious perspective, there were other differences between the two groups which may help to explain the subsequent evolution of later cultural and religious movements in Spain. Even though the group devoted to Ferdinand had a much smaller number of followers than that of Queen Isabel, the former stood out from the latter as they were efficient administrators and were able to attain the key positions in the kingdom very promptly. From a spiritual perspective, the 'Ferdinandites' aligned themselves with the reforms of the Order of St. Dominic, a much more intellectual order whose main characteristics were a life of prayer and study, regular observance and Apostleship of Prayer.⁸ This spiritual way differed from the Franciscan *observance* practised by the 'Isabelline' followers in aspects such as reading spiritual books in a Romance language, excessive frequency of the sacraments – especially Holy Communion – and the regular practice of mental prayer. Additionally, the most intellectual spiritual movement defended by the Dominicans remained exclusively faithful to the grounds of the Holy Scriptures and the resolutions of the Church, whereas the most mystic movement defended by the reforms of the Franciscans accepted the authority of the Church. However, this movement thought that God inspired spiritual people, and thus promoted the Christian reform of the population with the help of the prayer and the frequency of the sacraments.⁹ The 'Isabellines' practised the spirituality of the *observance*, deeply rooted in Flanders.¹⁰ This group's demands for spiritual compliance as well as a critical attitude towards the Church corresponded clearly – albeit unidentified – with the humanism of Erasmus.

⁷ Giménez Fernández, *Bartolomé de las Casas*, pp. 26-36.

⁸ Colunga, 'Intellectualistas' (1915), p. 232, affirms: 'The *generalidad* of the Dominicans followed the intellectual trend'.

⁹ Colunga, 'Intellectualistas' (1914), 'Intellectualistas' p. 214; Andrés Martín, *Los Recogidos*, p. 22ff.

¹⁰ López, 'L'observance franciscaine'. During the fifteenth century, the dukes of Burgundy stimulated this type of spirituality and, in the same time, they exploited it as a political asset in order to enhance the unity of their dispersed territories. Cf. Lippens, 'Saint Jean de Capistran', p. 10; *idem*, 'Deux épisodes'.

*The exaltation of the ideals of Flanders and of the House of Burgundy
(1500-1521)*

The creation of the first cultural programme centred on the young Charles was based on Burgundian ideals under the auspices of his aunt Margaret and of the Croy family. The spirit of chivalry and the influence of imperial circles still held sway at Court, which was imbued with strict Christian fervour and a political fear of being taken over by other larger monarchies. The cultural motifs were those that exalted the traditions and the existence of Burgundy: from a political point of view, there was lineage in order to emphasise its independence; the customs (tournaments and food) and the religiousness were highlighted by the creation of the Order of the Golden Fleece; and there was a certain degree of messianism connected with the dukedom's ambitions of grandeur in rivalry with its neighbours. The Burgundian symbols and legends were always a part of any cultural manifestation throughout Charles's reign: in heraldry the collar of the Golden Fleece and the ancient device of the shackle and the flint sending off sparks placed in the centre of the Cross of St Andrew, patron saint of Burgundy, always held pride of place beside the imperial devices. In 1516 the new device of the Columns of Hercules and the motto *Plus Oultre* were added by Marliano, the Doctor¹¹.

The legacy of Burgundy – Lineage

Charles was educated in the knightly tradition of his ancestors. Olivier de la Marche (1429-1502) created the myth of Burgundy and raised Charles the Bold to godlike status. His memories, dedicated to Philip the Handsome record the genealogy and the heraldry of the Dukes of Burgundy.¹² His aim was to present Philip as the restorer of a dynasty cut short by the death of Charles the Bold at the battle of Nancy (1477). The idea of lineage or of union with the other members of the family was stressed in all cultural statements of that time, as can be seen both in heraldry, where it became a fundamental iconographic element with a proliferation of coats of arms representing the different kingdoms or estates, as in the series of engravings commissioned by Maximilian: the family tree (by Hans Maler de Schwaz in 1508) in Tratzberg Castle, the stained-glass windows of the choir of the church of Saint Waudru in Mons (by N. Rombouts, 1511) or in the portraits of members of the family. In all these works of art, the meticulousness of

¹¹ Rosenthal, 'The invention'.

¹² Charles V never abandoned the hope to recuperate Burgundy. See Mesnard, *L'expérience politique de Charles Quint*.

the description and the peculiar use of colour in Flemish painting affected the final outcome, which provides us with an image of a noble Flemish family still imbued with the mediaeval spirit.

In addition to these family portraits, (another series shows the young Charles by himself) there is an outstanding series by Bernard van Orley, painter to Margaret of Austria, who drew numerous portraits of Charles, thus tracing the first official image of the young prince whose main features were his indolent nature and indecisiveness. There are three busts of Flemish origin on the same lines, especially the bust on display at the National Museum of Sculpture in Valladolid in which the young prince is depicted wearing a typical Burgundian hat.¹³

The culture of chivalry

An important part of the world of symbols used to construct the image of Charles V in the role of a knightly prince was his position as Grand Master of the Order of the Golden Fleece. An essential part of the Order was its strongly mediaeval nature. It was not just a question of solemn rituals with processions, religious services, costumes and coats of arms, it was above all the chivalrous spirit which governed relationships in which one's word was one's bond, a commitment taken on by Charles V. The feasts of the Order of the Fleece were among the most important events of the ritual life of his reign. A perfectly organised ceremony was played out with a series of historical, mythological and biblical allusions which were an essential part of the figure of the Emperor as a knight.¹⁴ In these ceremonies Charles looked like the perfect incarnation of the mediaeval Burgundian knight, sumptuously dressed and surrounded by knights and coats of arms. Lorenzo Vital describes in minute detail the first chapter of the Order presided over by Charles in Brussels (1516), which provided a sense of tradition to which it referred explicitly as an element of legitimacy and prestige. It must be remembered that it was for this Brussels chapter that Luigi Marlioni created the famous emblem of the two columns, and that one of the high points of Charles's first visit to the Iberian peninsular was the chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece held in the Choir of Barcelona Cathedral.

¹³ The two other busts are in the Gruuthusemuseum of Bruges as well as in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten of Ghent (Checa Cremades *Carlos V*, pp. 27-28).

¹⁴ Terlinden, *La Toison d'Or*. On the mythological aspects exploited by the Order, see Liez, ed, *La Toison d'Or*, pp. 62-84; Domínguez Casas, 'Fiesta y ceremonial borgoñón', pp. 14-16.

The ceremony served not only to present and extend the Burgundian ceremonial rites to the Peninsular, but also to consolidate one of the key chapters in Charles's *modus operandi* throughout his reign.¹⁵

Jousting and tournaments (together with the ceremonies of the Fleece) were other key aspects of Charles's knightly image.¹⁶ His entries into Bruges (1515) and Valladolid (1518), and his journey to London (1522) were of a decidedly mediaeval and chivalric nature. In Brussels he paraded through streets decked with triumphal arches dressed as a Burgundian knight. The city came out to express its confidence that he would return it to past commercial splendours, and there were triumphal arches in which Charles was portrayed as a virtuous prince and a victorious knight.¹⁷ In the same way, during his first visit to Spain, the chronicler Santa Cruz meticulously recounts the jousts that took place in Valladolid with a strong mediaeval flavour.¹⁸ Finally, the journey to England (1522) also took place in a chivalrous atmosphere as demonstrated by the fact that the climax of Charles's visit was his admission to the Order of the Garter.¹⁹

These tastes coincided to a large degree with those in vogue in the Iberian Peninsula, where certain people with links to the monarchy and high circles of power could see how the mediaeval knightly society was being transformed into a court-based society, and this led them to try to recapture the chivalrous spirit with books telling tales of the deeds of the knights.²⁰

Religious observance and Christian humanism

The Burgundian roots of Charles's humanism did not obstruct the later development of propaganda and cultural programmes. Indeed, the construction of a humanist message around the figure of Charles V went through several stages which were also clearly reflected in Caroline emblems. The creation of the first humanist message with respect to the education of Prince Charles arose in connection with his education in Ghent and Mechelen under the care initially of his aunt Margaret and later of William of Croy. This first image was centred on the Christian education of a prince who was des-

¹⁵ Gachard, *Collection*, pp. 60-62; De Vilanova, *Capítulo*.

¹⁶ Catedra, 'Fiesta caballeresca', pp. 84-87.

¹⁷ The text and the miniatures made by Rémy du Puys on the occasion of the *acontecimiento* are in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek of Vienna. They have been analysed by Checa Cremades, *Carlos V*, pp. 41-58.

¹⁸ Santa Cruz, *Crónica*, vol. I, p. 169; Vital, *Relación*, p. 69ff.

¹⁹ Strong, *Arte y poder*, p. 25; Robertson, 'L'entrée de Charles Quint'. For the original documents, see Domínguez Casas, 'Fiesta y ceremonial borgoñón', p. 22.

²⁰ Marín Pina, 'Ideología del poder'; Alvar, 'Raíces medievales'; Cacho Blecua, 'Los cuatro libros'.

tined to be the greatest monarch in Christendom.²¹ In this context the first motto applied to the young Charles acquires its full meaning: *Nondum* [‘not yet’].²² This was not a particularly new idea, indeed it was a continuation of the general concepts with respect to his father, Philip the Handsome, to whom the same motto had been applied in 1500 when he inherited the Crown of Castile. However his early death dashed the plans to construct a ‘Universal Monarchy’ and all hopes in this direction were placed on the shoulders of his son.

In the end, the most complete example of Flemish humanism in relation to the young Archduke during this first period was the *Institutio principis christiani* by Erasmus, which was dedicated to Charles. In this book, Erasmus warned him of the serious responsibilities implicit in his ‘mission’. For this reason, he claimed that Fortune was not in itself a merit, but had to be accompanied by the exercise of Virtue.²³ Fortune had given him great kingdoms, but only virtuous rulers could make them flourish.

The sense of optimism that surrounded the young monarch just before he set out on his journey to Castile, together with Erasmus’ pedagogical and moral lessons, led to the appearance of a new emblem: *Plus Oultre*, which contained a strong missionary message linked to the idea of the Crusade and the recapture of the Holy Places typical of the Order of the Fleece. It is thus hardly surprising that Luigi Marliano should design such an emblem for Charles as a knight of the Order. In political terms, this led to a Francophile policy directed by William of Croy and given visible form in the Treaties of Noyon (1516) and Cambrai (1517), in which peace was seen as an opportunity to fight the infidels. This missionary universe was strengthened in 1519 when Charles was elected Holy Roman Emperor, the defender of the Church. From a religious standpoint, it was mixed with a religious fervour which blended well with certain aspects of the *observant* spirituality practised in the House of the young prince.²⁴ This connected well with certain sectors of Castilian society, such as the Franciscans who practised the same religiousness and supported the conquest of the Holy Places once the Catholic Kings had completed the Reconquest of Spain. The expedition to Oran (1508) organised by Cardinal Cisneros can be regarded as part of this aspiration.

²¹ Cf. Vital, ‘De su fortuna e infortunio’, p. 732.

²² Domínguez Casas, *Arte y etiqueta*, p. 686.

²³ Morreale, *Cuadernos*, pp. 5-20.

²⁴ Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, ‘El humanismo áulico carolino’, p. 127.

The triumph of the 'Castilian' faction at the imperial court and the imposition of their 'intellectual' spirituality (1523-1529)

Charles's first moves in Castile dashed the hopes of those social groups that had been ousted from power by supporters of Ferdinand the Catholic. In addition to humanist ideas, a series of economic interests united the Flemish and the 'Ferdinandites', who held important positions in Castile, while the pleas and claims made by discontent Castilians at the Courts of Valladolid in 1518, all of whom hoped to enter royal service, were forgotten. Charles's swift departure on being elected Emperor, and the consequent demands for more economic assistance to pay for the journey, riled his subjects who rebelled in the Revolts of the *Comunidades* (Communes) and the *Germanías* (Guild Associations in Valencia).

Once these revolts had been put down and Charles had returned to Spain, he commenced a reform of the central government and of the service of his own House (Courts of Valladolid 1523) aimed at incorporating the social elites from the Spanish kingdoms into the government of his Empire. As a result, by this time, the traditional relationship between 'parties', which had held sway at Court since the end of the fifteenth century and had led to a regrouping of political forces, had been altered. The new balance of powers lasted until the end of Charles's reign.²⁵ The new dominant faction, which was referred to as 'Castilian' was formed around two important patrons who had entered political life in the service of Ferdinand the Catholic, namely Francisco de los Cobos and Juan Tavera. Cobos had started his career in the Castilian government during the first years of the sixteenth century under the Secretary Miguel Pérez de Almazán; during the reign of Philip the Handsome and the Regencies of Cardinal Cisneros, he was obliged to remain in the background, but from 1523-1529 he rose very quickly in the service of Charles V, pushing aside even the Flemish courtiers Charles had brought with him, and soon became his right-hand man.²⁶ For his part, Juan Tavera was the nephew of Diego Daza,²⁷ under whose patronage he was appointed Councillor of the Inquisition (1505), abandoning a promising future as a Professor at the University of Salamanca. Although during the Regencies of Cardinal Cisneros he had to abandon his posts and take refuge in Seville where his uncle was Archbishop, after the Revolt of the *Comunidades* he was given the highest government positions and was

²⁵ The political events have been discussed at great length in Martínez Millán, ed, *La Corte de Carlos V*.

²⁶ Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos, passim*.

²⁷ Góngora, *Historia*, pp. 13-14; Cotarello, *Fray Diego Deza*, pp. 78-80.

appointed Inquisitor-General, President of the Council of Castile, Archbishop of Toledo and Chief-Chaplain of the House of Castile.

*Castilian influence in cultural statements and the relegation of
Erasmian humanism*

The changes in the Court of Charles V after the Revolts of the *Comunidades* and the *Germanías* were not limited to the political sphere, there were also fierce power struggles between the different Court factions in the religious and cultural arenas. In general terms it may be argued that the first stage, when the figure of Charles V was presented cloaked in knightly imagery of Burgundian origin and with an Erasmian Christian humanism, was now giving way to the construction of a mythical image based on classical Roman ideas imbued with stoicism.²⁸

Once the 'Castilian' party took power, Erasmianism was banished from the Spanish kingdoms,²⁹ and at the same time a clear Italian influence became visible in the works of poets such as Garcilaso de la Vega, Gutiérrez de Cetina and Hernando de Acuña. Another key figure to help us understand Venetian culture in Spain was Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador in Venice.³⁰ In addition to their classical and Italianised training they also shared a devotion to the Caroline imperial ideology. This Roman influence was inevitably mixed with a Castilian spirit, as can be seen not only in the construction of the imperial idea, but also in the most important art works of the time: 'in spite of the Italianism and Roman feel of the imperial palace in Granada, it was not built in Italy, it was rather transported to a new land, with all that that implied. A new land that had to provide the building with some of its own, contradictory peculiarities'.³¹

Indeed, the most decisive step on the road to constructing an imperial image in accordance with classical Roman style was taken in Granada, where Charles lived from August to December 1526. This was when the project for the construction of a Cathedral was changed in order to convert it into an imperial mausoleum, and a palace was built for Charles V in an architectural style hitherto unknown in Spain. It is perfectly comprehensible that the two most important monuments, symbols of power, built in Spain at that time (the Cathedral and the Royal Palace) were built in Granada as a sign of the victory over an enemy, Islam, that was easily identifiable for

²⁸ Checa Cremades, *Carlos V*, p. 15.

²⁹ The Congregación of Valladolid, in 1527, led to a ban on Erasmus's works between 1536 y 1540 (AHN. Inq. lib. 573, fol. 134^v; lib. 322, fol. 5^v).

³⁰ On the relations with Venice, see Álvarez-Ossorio Alvaríño, 'Razón de linaje y lesa majestad'.

³¹ Marías, 'El palacio de Carlos V', p. 128.

Castilians, and that both buildings were constructed according to the precepts of the new style. The choice of Granada as a symbolic city was also significant as the city stood on the frontier between the Christian world and Islamic Africa.³² With the palace, Charles favoured the cultural lobbies who defended the classical Italian model represented by Don Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, who as Governor of the Alhambra was the driving force behind the commencement of construction work on the palace. It is very possible that he had a decisive influence on the choice of an Italian architectural language which was far removed from the more austere styles favoured by the Erasmian thought of other Court factions.³³

In the same way the initial Erasmian humanism of the Court was gradually diluted and eventually replaced with a form of stoicism which more easily combined with the Catholic orthodoxy that was gradually taking over Castile, and was more useful when it came to overcoming the bitter experiences of life at Court, Fra Antonio de Guevara provided clear stoic support to the imperial court in his books *The Golden Book of Mark Anthony*, *Relox de Príncipes* or his very famous *Disdain for the Court and praise for the village*.

*The end of Flemish influence at the Court of Charles V
and the triumph of Castile*

The death of William of Croy in 1521 did not lead to any radical changes in the general lines of imperial policy, at least with respect to policy in Italy. Although after the Revolt of the *Comunidades* the Castilians were brought into service in the Royal House and into the government of the Kingdom, foreign policy was still based on the ideas of the Flemish nobles of the Chièvres circle who sought to keep the peace with the French in Italy (given their own interests in the French crown). This policy ran counter to that of King Ferdinand the Catholic and the Castilians, who wished to maintain the 'Two Sicilies' and deploy a military and diplomatic contingent in Northern Italy to impede the French presence in Lombardy, while keeping the Pope hemmed in in the centre of the peninsula.³⁴ This view clashed with that held by the young Emperor's Flemish councillors, who believed that a peace agreement could be reached with the House of Valois. The Flemish elite's view was a result of the links between the Low Countries and France, as a lot of the territories retained feudal links of vassalage with the French crown.

³² On the two buildings, cf. Rosenthal, *El palacio de Carlos V*; *idem*, *La catedral de Granada*.

³³ On this, see the excellent studies by Yarza Luaces ('Política artística') and Morte García ('La llegada del Renacimiento a la escultura aragonesa').

³⁴ Galasso, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 147-155.

Charles's most trusted councillors were descended from the main lineages of the French area under the leadership of the house of Croy. They therefore had very close relations with the French nobility, and tried to reconcile the interests of both Monarchies with a policy based on the essential aims of the Noyon Treaty and the Erasmian ideas that championed peace as the supreme good.

Peace was impossible while war tainted relations between the two sovereigns, no matter how strongly the Flemish elite may have desired it; however, the battle of Pavia (1525) at which the King of France was captured, opened the way to a more lasting peace. The Castilians however, along with Chancellor Gattinara, thought that their chance had come and they were right, as shown by the fact that the war continued even after the French King had been released.³⁵ The failure of the Madrid peace agreement destroyed the 'Flemish way' with respect to policy in Italy and forced the Emperor to look for new solutions.³⁶ He had little choice. Gattinara's opposition to the signing of the Treaty of Madrid made him an ideal candidate to lead foreign policy. He turned to the Castilian courtiers (opposed to the ideas of the Flemish) to come up with an alternative. The interpretations of Erasmus played a crucial role in this strategy. Gattinara played on the peculiarities of Spanish Erasmianism, which, as opposed to the Dutch version, emphasised criticism of the Curia. If Erasmus sought to define his political ideology in the *Philosophia Christi* and as a result defended extreme pacifism, Spanish Erasmians tended to ignore this approach and politicised his ideas of moral critique. Gattinara took advantage of the fact that Dutch humanism was in need of protection from attacks by both Lutherans and Catholics, and gave it shelter under the imperial cloak in order to use it for his own ends.³⁷

Despite all this, there were still strong tensions within the imperial court, as on the one hand Charles was reluctant to remove his faithful Flemish servants, while on the other he felt obliged to accept alternatives to the failed 'Flemish way' in Italy. This led to the Emperor taking apparently contradictory decisions, which meant that different, conflicting policies were

³⁵ It is important to note the important fact while signing the peace treaty of Madrid (1526) Francis I promised to respect the possessions held by the houses of Orange, Nassau, Croy, Fiennes and Vergi in French territory (Archivo Histórico Nacional. Estado, leg. 2976, núm. 9).

³⁶ Hernando Sánchez, 'El reino de Nápoles', pp. 111-118.

³⁷ Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, pp. 226-236. Erasmus accepted this interpretation, but rejected any extremist manipulation of his thought. Gattinara proposed him to edit Dante's *Monarchia*, but Erasmus refused this, pointing out the danger of criticising in that way universal tyranny. Cf. Capellino, 'Mercurino Arborio Gattinara'.

followed in Naples and in Milan. While Lannoy and his right-hand man, Moncada, in the Government of Naples recommended a policy of dialogue with the Holy See, Gattinara and the Constable of Bourbon in Milan favoured a much more belligerent, intransigent relationship with the Papacy. The war between the Emperor and the League of Cognac accentuated the tensions between his councillors, whose conflicts and contradictions affected both diplomatic and military affairs. While Moncada and Colonna invaded Rome from Naples and obliged the Pope to sign a treaty,³⁸ the Constable of Bourbon began a long march from Milan in order to attack Rome. The attack on Rome (6 May 1527), in which the Constable of Bourbon himself was killed, led to a radical change of policy. The imperial troops sacked the city for nine months and Christendom was left without its leader. The Pope had fallen silent and Europe, in a state of commotion, anxiously awaited the outcome of a situation which made the future of the Papacy, and with it the Church, most uncertain. The Emperor's cryptic attitude regarding his plans only helped to increase this uncertainty.

The 'Flemish way' was dead and buried and had exhausted all its possibilities. The intervention in Italy had reached such a point of stalemate that the Emperor became impatient and decided that he had no alternative but to take control of the situation himself and set out for Italy. After the death of Lannoy, Charles V was obliged to solve the crisis by himself and needed councillors who could help him to deal with the situation. This was the chance for Gattinara and the Castilians. The Great Chancellor presented a compromise solution, which was hardly new, based on an Erasmian approach. For Gattinara, a Genovese, the most urgent need was to assuage the fears of the Princes of the Christian world by removing the threat of war against the Pope, and at the same time he proposed a Council to reform the Church. Once the Council had been agreed, the Emperor went to Italy to reorganise political affairs and the affairs of Christendom in general.

Gattinara's solution was ingenious, as on the one hand he cast aside all traditional policy ideas on Italy and took on the Italian vision (traditionally expounded by the Vatican to justify its temporal power) by offering a pacific image in which the Emperor appeared as a Protector rather than an invader or dominator; he also appropriated the traditional Spanish policy that Milan had to be seen as a priority if the possessions in the South of Italy were to be maintained. Lastly, Gattinara tried to link the Sack of Rome to the hope for regeneration in the Church, or at least that is what he seemed to be suggesting through his personal secretary Alfonso de Valdés, whom he ordered to publish a strong defence of the Emperor entitled *Dialogue be-*

³⁸ Real Academia de la Historia. Colección Salazar, A-38; Hook, 'Clement VII'.

tween Lactancio and an Arcediano, which had a definite Erasmian tone.³⁹ The diffusion of Erasmus's political ideas by his Spanish followers helped to justify the Emperor's European policy in the eyes of the Castilians and gave him well-founded arguments when it came to asking for subsidies from the Courts, by arguing that they could not fight the infidel (prime objective of the Spanish Kings) because of the war being waged against them by the Christian princes (especially the King of France) and because of the animosity shown towards them by the Pope. In this way, the Emperor appeared as the Defender of the Faith, who had to solve the problems with Luther, given the passiveness of Rome, and carry out a reform of the Church. Charles V aspired to a universal peace with a defensive policy based on his own de facto hegemony.⁴⁰

Despite all this, although some people believed in the hope for universal peace combined with the Erasmian spirit of concord, this was not a part of the imperial plans that were soon to materialise. Erasmianism served as a justification of but not as support for the new policy. This was made clear in the Treaty of Barcelona (29 June 1528), which had little to do with these hopes. This Treaty proposed that a Council should be held and a political solution was adopted. In fact, the Emperor did not act as a Universal Monarch, nor did the Pope act as pastor of the Church, it was more a case of a deal being struck between the Habsburgs and the Medicis. The Peace of Cambray (5 August 1529) removed the idea of a new political order from the agenda as it was little more than an agreement aimed at resolving old disputes between the Habsburgs and the Valois.

The Peace of Cambray 'humiliated the restless desires of Italy and other parties who, as they had little power and now lacked the support of the French, no longer dared to take up arms'.⁴¹ All of this led to divisions of opinion with regard to Charles's visit to Italy, as in the eyes of the Emperor's Councillors there were reasons to believe that the trip was no longer so necessary. Charles was obliged to reaffirm his decision to travel and re-define the aims of his trip. The chronicler Santa Cruz put it clearly:

I have talked about my journey with many of my councillors and I have written to others outside Spain and put my trust in many friends of God, and I have spent many sleepless hours pondering over it, and after all this, I am determined to go ahead, and no opinion or advice will now change my mind ... Reasons for going: I am not going there to be crowned, it is rather

³⁹ Vian Herrero, *El dialogo de Lactancio*, pp. 42-47. Using Erasmus's *Querella pacis*, Alfonso de Valdés wrote an occasional work in which he described the rights and obligations of the Pope in matters political.

⁴⁰ Sánchez-Montes, *Franceses, protestantes, turcos*, pp. 69-71.

⁴¹ De Sandoval, *Historia*, p. 339.

to try and work with the Pope to celebrate a general Council in Italy or in Germany to root out heresies and reform the Church ... It is also my intention to visit Italy to reform her, calm her and pacify her ... and to see the Kingdoms, States and vassals I have there.⁴²

This summary of intentions led to a diverse, manifold presentation of the reasons for his trip to Italy and for the imperial coronation that suited all the different sensibilities and traditions.⁴³ In this way, the coronation in Bologna allowed a genuinely imperial policy to be developed, a policy that was a fusion of different perceptions from all the different territories that came together in the person of Charles V and which could only really be elaborated after the catharsis of 1527. The creator of this policy was Gattinara, who managed to recreate the idea of a *Monarchia Universalis* using Christian Erasmian language, but with a very different aim from that put forward by Erasmus. He turned Erasmian ideas around to use them in support of a clearly Ghibelline ideology to which the Spanish tradition adhered. In other words, by synthesising the different ideas he created an imperial doctrine which could be interpreted in different ways and was useful both as an ideological and a propagandistic tool to further what were evidently patrimonial and dynastic ends.

The Roman Image of Charles V (1530-1545)

The coronation of Charles V in Bologna was the beginning of a whole new policy in Italy, which was accompanied by an updating of the image of the Emperor and the role he had to play among Italian potentates and in the Christian world.⁴⁴ This phase began with the coronation in Bologna, which was the final outcome of years of conflict between Charles V and Francis I, who had been vying to achieve a dominant position in Italy.

Italy as the cultural axis of the imperial image

The Emperor made six trips to Italy. The first (coronation in Bologna) and the third (after the conquest of Tunis) were the longest and the most important in political, ceremonial and symbolic terms and made a decisive contribution to the consolidation of his domination of Italy, while the other jour-

⁴² Santa Cruz, *Crónica*, vol. II, pp. 455-457.

⁴³ Yates, 'Charles Quint'. Hace un buen resumen de la situación, Rady, *Carlos V*. Madrid 1991, pp. 95-97.

⁴⁴ Terlinden, 'La politique italienne de Charles Quint'.

neys were mainly of a diplomatic nature.⁴⁵ Italy appeared as a vital nexus of Charles V's empire. Increasingly perceived as a geographical and cultural entity in spite of its political fragmentation, for Charles V Italy became the main stage on which to build his reputation in Europe, at the same time as it became the main artistic and literary source of inspiration which enabled him to shape his ideology in the language of the Court.⁴⁶ In most cases, the trip to Italy was always planned as a succession of very profitable stopovers between Spain and Germany, usually after having spent a long time in the Iberian Peninsula. During this period the Castilian faction (led by Francisco de los Cobos and Juan Tavera) maintained their dominant position in the House of Charles V and in the government of the Empire. Surprisingly, his Italian subjects were excluded from these positions, although they were given senior posts in the army.

The recovery of the Empire represented by Charles V provided humanists and Renaissance artists with a living vehicle to whom all the rediscovered repertory of the Ancient classical world could be applied.⁴⁷ The use of classical architectural styles and the memory of imperial triumphs had a significance that went beyond Art, and at the same time coincided with the interests of the social groups around the Emperor. Undoubtedly these trips and the triumphal entries into cities helped to ensure that his people accepted this aim. The Flemish tradition of *joyeuses entrées* with which the cities of the Low Countries received Burgundian overlords had provided the first expressions of the ancient political ritual of welcoming a prince,⁴⁸ but they still lacked the Classical touch. The ceremonial displays that accompanied the Emperor on his visits to the different territories were not so much a question of pleasing Charles but more the result of the need for the different local or territorial powers to express their own concerns in the language of the Court. This meant that each festival, each image, became a way for the power groups to express an opinion which, depending on the circumstances, could refer to negotiations between the different centres of power and follow the general lines proposed by the Court. In order to articulate this complex language, all the authorities involved could turn to the growing fund of knowledge that made courtly wisdom available to them and in which the

⁴⁵ For the journeys made by Charles V, see the classical studies by De Foronda y Aguilera's classical study, *Estancia y viajes de Carlos* and Anatra, 'Itinerarios de Carlos V'.

⁴⁶ Hernando Sánchez, 'El reino de Nápoles'.

⁴⁷ Strong, *Arte y poder*, p. 86.

⁴⁸ Kipling, *Enter the King*, *passim*.

humanae litterae were acquiring a central role thanks to the diffusion of Italian models.⁴⁹

Ceremonial entries became increasingly more complex, more respected and more relevant, and after Charles's journey to Bologna for his coronation in 1530 they became a model for the rest of Europe to follow. The next stage in this process was the itinerary taken after the conquest of Tunis (1535), when for the first time the Emperor was able to invoke his own leading role in a military campaign and thereby explicitly recapture the essence of the triumphs of Ancient Rome.

Both trips confirmed the decisive role that Italian artists and humanists had in the configuration process of Charles V's imperial image.⁵⁰

The Coronation in Bologna (1530) and the return of the Ancient World

Bologna became a new Rome bedecked with countless arches, statues and other ephemeral architecture. The programme provided a history of the Empire, a journey through history from Ancient Rome to the modern era of Charles V passing through the mediaeval Empire and the times of his immediate forebears. It was also a spiritual journey from the pagan times of antiquity to the Christianity of Charles's era, and from the allusions to the classical world (in the first arches) to the clear, ecclesiastical reference in the last arch. It was also a doctrinal journey from the purely triumphal reference of the first arch to others praising the political virtues of the Christian prince.⁵¹

The procession, which has often been described and even drawn, and the iconography represent the image of triumph with references to the heroic side of Charles V. They tried to emulate the external appearance of the great Caesars presented as heroes. Both the written accounts of the event and the series of engravings show the importance of the flags, vestments and the order of the parade. The standards were not positioned in Burgundian style, nor were suits of armour worn by those participating in the procession. Instead they followed the Classical style. Flags of the Crusades were flown with the image of Christ on the Cross, of the Church with the keys of St Peter, the Pope with his coat of arms, the insignia of Rome, etc.

⁴⁹ In Spain entries became standard practice with the Reyes Católicos (Gómez Moreno, *España y la Italia de los Humanistas*, p. 290ff.).

⁵⁰ This has been studied with *acierto* by Strong (*Arte y poder*, p. 90ff.); see also the essays collected by Jacquot, ed. *Les fêtes*.

⁵¹ The arches and their ornaments have been described and studied by several historians. See, e.g., Checa Cremades, *Carlos V*, pp. 148-151; Borrás Gualis and Criado Mainar, eds, *La imagen triunfante del Emperador* (with an exhaustive bibliography).

In short, the emblems of the Empire and the Papacy. From a heraldic point of view, their symbolism echoed the series of triumphal arches: a balance between the Empire and the Papacy (which was part of the political agenda for the coronation), and the Empire of Charles V as the continuation of the Roman Empire.

The high point of the ceremony was the coronation in the church of St Petronius, and the procession finished at the palace where the heroic iconography was clear for all to see. Next to a series of hieroglyphics were stories of the liberation of Italy and the flight of the Turks together with two large sculptures with the words *Liberator* ['Liberator'] and *Pacificator* ['Pacifier']. There were also references to the policy Charles V should follow with regard to the Italian princedoms. However, what stood out most in the consecration ceremony was the solemn, majestic, sanctified side of Charles V. In order to achieve this sacred symbolism, in addition to the procession under the papal canopy, the imperial vestments also regained their important role.⁵² The coronations provided Charles V with a way to display in public his links with the Roman-Germanic Empire by restoring the tradition of the triple coronation which dated back to the times of Charlemagne. After his coronation as King of the Romans in Aachen, he received the iron crown of Lombardy and the imperial crown in Bologna.⁵³

The repercussions of the conquest of Tunis (1535)

Charles V's journey to Italy after the conquest of Tunis has recently been analysed in a number of different works.⁵⁴ However, there are still some aspects worth revising especially in terms of its political implications, the level of knowledge that enabled people to understand the message being transmitted in the images and allegories on show, and the courtly atmosphere in which all these events took place.

For Neapolitan political society, this was the great opportunity to bring together the interests that were vying for power – the Viceroy, under pressure from increasing aristocratic opposition, the nobility with its different factions and families, the provincial and municipal authorities under the

⁵² Among the descriptions of the coronation, the essays collected in *Carlo V a Bologna*. The most recent studies are Ruiz Martín F. 'Carlos V en Italia (1529-1530)'; Redondo Veintemillas and Navarra Bonilla, 'La coronación imperial'.

⁵³ Serrano Marques, 'Las otras coronaciones'. According to Bosbach ('Concepción imperial'), the representations of the *acontecimiento*, depicting the Emperor with the terrestrial globe in his hands (Sebastián de Piombo y Parmigianino) clearly shows that, with his coronation, Charles V had become master of the whole world.

⁵⁴ Madonna, 'El viaje de Carlos V'; Visceglia, 'Il viaggio cerimoniale di Carlo V'; Toscano, 'Le Muse'.

leadership of the city playing host to the Court, and the popular elites of a dynamic class that was capable of making its opinions heard. As is well known, Charles V's visit to Naples guaranteed the continuance of Don Pedro de Toledo in his position as Viceroy⁵⁵.

Above and beyond the development of a political image, Charles V's entry into Naples and his four-month stay in the city allow us to observe the workings of the Court system that was taking shape in the House of the Emperor. The meeting that took place between the imperial court, the Court of the Viceroy, the aristocrats and the municipal government was the result of a political and social game played out in the language of the *humanae litterae* which determined the development of literary and art works. It would be a mistake to try to group these together under the generic concept of culture given its current connotations which are difficult to apply to the sixteenth century in which created or inherited culture was not independent of political power.⁵⁶ If the triumphal entry into Naples represented the high point in which the Court flooded the city to draw political society as a whole into a ritual of exaltation that went beyond the normal limits of court behaviour, these same limits covered a spectrum as broad and diverse as the reality they were describing in their idealisation. For all these reasons, rather than speak of an aristocratic culture, a court culture or even the culture of a particular city, we should perhaps refer to ways of expression of a society and of an elite in which the return to Antiquity provided a means to express a series of different political messages.

The conquest of Tunis was an all-out triumph for Charles V. This enterprise was well received in all his kingdoms as it favoured their respective interests. In Italy, it reminded the people of Rome's victory over the Carthaginians which led to the expansion of the ancient city. In Naples it appeared to mark the end of the Turkish and Berber incursions,⁵⁷ while for the Castilians, it was their dream come true, as set out in one of Ferdinand the Catholic's sayings 'Peace with the Christians and war against the infidel'.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ On this subject, see Hernando Sánchez, *Castilla y Nápoles. idem; El reino de Nápoles*.

⁵⁶ See Alexander and Sedman, eds, *Culture and Society* as well as Chalmeta, Checa Cremades, González Portilla *et al*, eds, *Cultura y culturas en la Historia*.

⁵⁷ Hernando Sánchez, 'El glorioso triunfo de Carlos'. For the celebration of the victory in Rome, see Carrasco Ferrer, 'Carlos V en Roma'.

⁵⁸ According to De Illescas (*Jornada de Carlos V a Túnez*, p. 453), the Tunis expedition was an affair that benefited to the whole Christian community.

Christianitas afflicta

During the 1540s, the humanism of the Court of Charles V created a uniform, classical cultural message that accommodated by and large all the existing currents of thought. At the same time, once the figure of the Emperor had been strengthened, Italy had been pacified and peace had been reached with France, the centre of his political Empire and his ideas shifted to Germany, where the religious revolution was reaching boiling-point. This situation drove the Imperial Chancellery to draw up a consensus formula which would allow an agreement to be reached between the Church and the new religions and would at the same time quell the political ambitions of the German princes. The formula adopted was irenics, which coincided with the reform and the lack of trust in the Roman curia and which had been defended in the imperial court by Alfonso de Valdés, but which, after his death, needed to be redrafted. This job was carried out by a group of German humanists (J. Pflug, J. Gropper, J. Cochlaeus, J. Maier de Eck, etc.) under the patronage of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvela.⁵⁹ This group of humanist theologians worked with the approval of the so-called 'reform party' (Contarini, Sadoletto, Pole, etc.) who brought about the triumph of Paul III.

From then on, Charles's court culture was dressed in theological and spiritual robes, without this implying the destruction of previous classical models. On the contrary, these styles came together. In German reformist circles there had always been great distrust of the Roman Curia, and so when Paul III tried to call a meeting of the Council, first in Mantua and then in Vicenza, thus giving it an entirely 'Italian character', Charles V refused to go and the idea arose of holding religious debates, Diets, (Hagenau, Worms, Ratisbon) separately from Rome, in which Catholic and Lutheran theologians could exchange opinions. At the Diet of Ratisbon (1541), the central focus of the debate was justification by faith, and an agreement was reached on a formula of 'double justification', which was proposed to Charles as the doctrine of the Empire. This idea served as a bridge between conciliatory Catholic theologians (Pole, Contarini, Morone, etc.), who were joined by Spaniards in the Emperor's service such as Carranza, Fra Pedro de Soto and Constantino Ponce de la Fuente.⁶⁰ Despite this, the Ratisbon Diet ended in failure because of pressure from Rome, which forced the calling of a Council (in Trent in 1545) to solve the problem.

This irenic policy of dialogue was accompanied by a campaign involving a series of publications opposing Protestant ideas. In Cologne and Basle, editions of books by mediaeval theologians were printed which were dedi-

⁵⁹ On this subject, consult Antony, *Un grand ministre de Charles-Quint*.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

cated to Charles and his brother Ferdinand, who were presented as Defenders of the Faith, not formally opposed to the papacy, but clearly opposed to the Italian theological position in the resolution of the conflict.⁶¹ The idea that the Emperor, and not the Pope, was the guarantor of the solution to the religious schism in the Christian world was set out in the three volumes of *Heraldry and the Origin of the Nobility of the Austrias*, which Otto Truchsess, Cardinal of Augsburg, commissioned to publish, in which Charles's Empire was portrayed as the friend of the oppressed.⁶²

Justification by faith remained alongside irenics as a formula for religious reconciliation. For this reason, when Seripando proposed the theory of 'double justification' during the session of the Council of Trent on 8 October 1546, and this was defeated thanks to the stubborn opposition of the Jesuit Diego Láinez and the Dominican Fra Domingo de Soto, who were well aware that the Imperial Chancellery did not agree with them, the irenics that Charles V had defended finally collapsed. From that point on the only option open to him was war.

The fight against the Protestants

The Emperor's last great victory was at the battle of Mühlberg (1547) against the League of Smalkalda, although in this case he was fighting subjects of his own Empire rather than an external enemy. This internal war saw the consummation of one of the major events of the sixteenth century, the split in the Christian world, which in turn meant the end of the idea of the *Universal Empire*.⁶³

From the point of view of the construction of the imperial image, the military campaign definitively consolidated the image of a heroic warrior who participated directly in battle and led to the most famous portrayal of the Emperor that survives to this day, Titian's picture of *Charles V at Mühlberg*. This portrayal together with the engravings by Eneas Vico (Charles V's troops crossing the Elbe and a portrait of the Emperor himself) and the *Commentaries on the war in Germany* by Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga were the main weapons in the imperial propaganda battle associated with the campaign.⁶⁴ The mythification of this battle was in my opinion given a decidedly Catholic confessional tone (in spite of the publication of the *Interim* ordered by Charles V after the battle) because, according to the chroniclers, the Emperor was said to have exclaimed '*Veni, vidi, Deus vicit*'

⁶¹ It was in this ambiance that the Segovian physician Andrés Laguna wrote his treatise on Europa (cf. Redondo, 'El *Discurso sobre Europa* del doctor Laguna').

⁶² Scheichler, 'Heráldica y origen de la nobleza'.

⁶³ The importance of this period had been noted in Lutz's *Christianitas Afflicta*.

⁶⁴ Checa Cremaes, *Carlos V*, p. 257.

in clear reference to Julius Caesar's famous line. In this way he sought to proclaim that the true faith after the division of the Christian world in the first half of the sixteenth century was that of Rome.⁶⁵

Culture placed at the service of political division

The victory at Mühlberg and the *Interim* were the high point of the reign of Charles V, to such an extent that he summoned his son Philip to Brussels so that he could be sworn in as his heir, thus resolving the question of succession within the different branches of the family. In this context, the Imperial Chancellery created an enormous propaganda campaign to bestow the virtues of Caroline humanism on the young prince. In this process, the German humanist groups began to move away from the official political line and aligned themselves with the rights of succession of King Ferdinand, while Italian and Flemish humanism worked hard for the greater glory of the prince.

The 'Happiest Journey' of Prince Philip (1548-1551)

During Prince Philip's first journey throughout Europe, Charles's humanism became confused with that propagated by his son's Court. Thus, in Northern Italy, the humanists received him as the new Emperor who would be succeeding his father.⁶⁶ Classical Italian ideas which had been applied to the Emperor since 1530 were now applied to his son (it was at this time that Leoni and Titian were taken on by the prince). However, in Germany he was given a cold reception, an unmistakable sign of the German humanists' decision to exclude themselves from this process. In the Low Countries, the humanists associated with the Court of his aunt Mary of Hungary bestowed on him an image which displayed his power, authority and his promises of happiness for his people to the Christian world. Certain leading Flemish humanists who were followers of Erasmus had taken refuge at Mary's Court after the collapse of the cultural models of the previous period, and many of the banner slogans with which Philip was received were taken from the *Institutio* by Erasmus. It is not surprising that the three main accounts of this journey were written by humanists, Calvete de la Estrella, Cornelio Schryver and Francis of Burgundy.⁶⁷

This resurgence of humanism occurred thanks to the support of the political group that had been formed around the prince, who took advantage of

⁶⁵ Mancini, 'La elaboración de nuevos modelos'.

⁶⁶ Calvete de la Estrella, *El felicísimo viaje*, p. 41ff.

⁶⁷ López del Toro, 'Francisco de Borgoña'.

the fact that the 'Castilian' faction was in a state of chaos after the death of its patrons, Francisco de los Cobos (1547) and Cardinal Juan Tavera (1545) who had been governing with the Emperor.⁶⁸

The imposition of ideological and cultural intransigence

After his son's journey around Europe, Charles V considered retiring from government, and at the same time felt that it was necessary to compose a defence of his political work. From 1550 onwards, he began dictating his *Memoires* in which, despite being just a draft version of a broader autobiography, he set out to justify his wars by focusing particularly on his campaigns against the infidels, and he accused the other European powers of having obstructed (with their intrigues) his attempts to keep the Christian world together. From his retreat in the Monastery of San Jerónimo de Yuste, Charles V looked on impotently at the expansion of the reformation, which affected even the Castilian kingdoms, and he was overcome by a bitter sense of failure, while allowing intransigence to dominate some of his last actions.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, the old, broken 'Castilian' party was undergoing a metamorphosis both in terms of its composition and of its ideology. The political failure of the Eboli faction in Europe during the first years of the reign of Philip II allowed the 'Castilian' faction to regain power when he returned to Castile (1559). In this way, its members became the real executors of the process of confessionalisation carried out by the Prudent King in his Kingdom.

⁶⁸ For this, see Martínez Millán, 'Grupos de poder'.

⁶⁹ Here one has to think of the cool reception by Charles V of Bartolomé Carranza (suspected of heterodoxy) when the latter came to visit the Emperor in Yuste. Cf. Tellechea Idígoras, *Así murió el Emperador*, p. 30ff.

‘OFFICIAL HISTORY’ AT THE COURT OF PHILIP II OF SPAIN

Richard L. Kagan

‘The road to truth is straight, never
winding’
Maffeo Barberini, the future Urban
VIII (1607)

On 13 September 1598, only hours after learning about the death of Philip II, Francesco Soranzo, Venetian ambassador at the Spanish court, wrote to inform the Doge and Senate of the momentous news. ‘The king is dead’, the dispatch began. ‘His Majesty expired at the Escorial this morning at day-break, after having received all of the sacraments of the church with every sign of devotion, piety, and religion’. Soranzo then proceeded to list Philip’s numerous accomplishments: his many victories – ‘He has acquired more by sitting still, by negotiations, by diplomacy, than his father did by armies and by war’ – as well as his many defeats. Soranzo also provided a short sketch of Philip’s character, specifically noting that ‘He [Philip] hated vanity, and therefore never allowed his life to be written’.¹

The idea that Philip had refused to commission a biography is one that quickly entered the mythology of the deceased king. Baltasar Porreño, author of the *Dichos y hechos del rey don Felipe II* (Cuenca, 1621), one of the first biographies of the monarch ever published, made much the same point when he observed that ‘His modesty was such, that he never wanted to have a chronicler’.² More recently, a best-selling biography of Philip has reiterated this idea with the assertion: ‘Philip II refused to let his life be written during his lifetime. He thereby saved himself from adulators, whom he hated. But he left the field wide open to his detractors’.³

But is this observation correct? Was Philip, out of modesty, as adverse to the writing of his biography as Soranzo, Porreño, and various historians

¹ Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 9, pp. 342-343. The original reads: *non ha mai voluto, che si scriva la sua vita* (Archivio di Stato di Venezia: Senato, Dispacci Spagna, filza 30, n. 58).

² Porreño, *Dichos y hechos*, p. 110. The same idea appeared Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *En la corona virtuosa* (p. 259): *[Felipe] no quería tener coronista*.

³ Kamen, *Philip*, p. xi.

have alleged? Or was he more like his father, the Emperor Charles V, a monarch who, in a deliberate effort to set his own record straight, began writing (or at least dictating) his own memoirs at least seven years before his death?⁴

No easy answer to these questions exists, partly because of confusion concerning the meaning of biography, especially as it was understood by Soranzo, Porreño and other contemporaries of Philip II. A biography, known also in Spanish as a *vida* or life, emphasised what Plutarch, the Greek historian, in contemplating the life of Alexander the Great, referred to as *ethos*, a term that referred to individual character and personality. Biography therefore supposed a retrospective assessment of Alexander as a moral being. Yet Plutarch also understood that biography could be history, the equivalent of *praxis*, the Greek word for action, and thus a term that, again with reference to Alexander, called for a narration of the Macedonian monarch's deeds and accomplishments together with those of his associates and followers.⁵ Biography and history were therefore separate genres, each designed to illuminate different aspects of an individual's life. This particular distinction also obtained in the sixteenth century, and it is one that Soranzo seems implicitly to have understood when he wrote that Philip 'refused to let his life be written'. On the other hand, the Venetian ambassador said nothing about history, a genre that Philip, especially towards the end of his reign, warmly embraced.

To learn more about the king's interest in history, and, more generally, about the place of history-writing at the court of Philip II, this essay will examine Philip's patronage of chroniclers and historians, in particular those of the scholars whom he honoured with the title of royal chronicler, or *cronista del rey*. The work of these chroniclers suggests that Philip was, as Soranzo correctly observed, suspicious of biography, but had many fewer qualms about history, especially 'official' or royal history designed to defend his policies and to highlight the deeds and accomplishments of his reign.

The King's Chroniclers

Defined in this way, official history was neither the invention of Philip II nor even that of the sixteenth century. Classical precedents for this kind of historical writing abound, among them the *Anabasis*, *Cyropedia*, and other works that the Greek historian Xenophon drafted to burnish the image of the

⁴ See Morel-Fatio, *L'historiographie*, pp. 159-162; Fernández Alvarez, 'Las Memorias', pp. 690-718.

⁵ My understanding of Plutarch on this point follows Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius*, p. 8.

Persian ruler, Cyrus the Great. Alcuin's hagiographic biography of the Emperor Charlemagne can also be classified under this rubric; so too can the chronicle (or *mémoires*) of the heroic deeds and other achievements of King Louis XI of France written by Philippe de Commines (c. 1445-c. 1511).⁶ In Castile, official history dated back to at least to the thirteenth century and to the famous *Crónica general de Castilla*, a work attributed to scholars attached to the court of Alfonso X (1252-1284). Subsequently, it took the form of court chronicles recording the deeds of individual monarchs, as in the case of the *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, or, in the case of the crown of Aragon, that of Pedro IV.⁷ The individuals entrusted with these chronicles were often attached to the royal chancery, a connection which practically guaranteed that the resulting record would favour both the king and his policies. One of the most famous of these early court chroniclers was Pedro López de Ayala (1332-1407?), *canciller mayor* of Enrique III, and a historian who, in his blatantly congratulatory history of the early Trastámara monarchs of Castile, claimed that his only task was to write 'what he saw as truthfully as he could', a phrase consistent with official history.⁸

Nowadays we are likely to dismiss official history as something akin to propaganda, but in the fifteenth century it was not exactly that, for in a Christian cosmos in which the opposite of truth was blasphemy, official history was understood primarily as a means of defending a monarch against criticisms which, by their very nature, were conceived as little more than seditious libels. It was therefore vital for monarchs, as one scholar has written, 'to set forth the truth boldly and clearly'.⁹

For this purpose most European monarchs, starting around 1400, set about institutionalising the office of the chronicler (or chroniclers), in the hope of investing their works with an aura of trustworthiness (*auctoritas*) that other histories, almost by definition, lacked. In France this new office was that of *historiographe du roi*, in Portugal that of *cronista-mor*, and in Castile that of *cronista* or *coronista del rey*, a position that emerged around 1454 when Juan de Mena, Latin secretary of Juan II (1405-1454), was first referred to by this particular title.¹⁰ The circumstances surrounding the crea-

⁶ Commines's influential history was translated into Castilian by Juan de Vitrián and published as Felipe de Comines, *Las memorias* (Antwerp, 1643).

⁷ The historiography of the Spanish Middle Ages is best approached through Linehan, *History*.

⁸ Cited in Lawrence, 'Memory and Invention', p. 93.

⁹ Soman, 'Press, Pulpit, and Censorship', p. 462. I am grateful to Orest Ranum for drawing my attention to this important article. Note that propaganda, as currently understood, was only introduced from the eighteenth century.

¹⁰ For a brief introduction to the office of royal chronicler, see my 'Clio and the Crown', and the revised Spanish version of the same in *España, Europa y el mundo*

tion of this office are as yet unclear, although it was part of the political turmoil of this particular era in Castilian history, which witnessed attempts by various noble factions to put forward their particular version of historical truth, and the monarchy's (ultimately unsuccessful) effort to establish a monopoly over historical writing itself.¹¹ According to one account, the factional conflicts of the fifteenth century fostered the production of history, but history of a kind that the monarchy did not necessarily approve. Thus, when confronted with the prospect that history might do something other than offer a laudatory, – i.e. truthful portrait – of his achievements, Juan II offered Mena extra salary (or *ración*) in exchange for an 'official' history of his reign. Mena's appointment, however, did not put an end to historical writing inimical to the interests of the monarchy. Later in the century, for example, Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal, one of the Catholic Monarch's chief advisors, still complained that 'everybody sets out to write what he pleases, praising only a few and prejudicing the many'.¹²

The desire to have a history that served the crown's interests also explains why Ferdinand and Isabella, shortly after their accession to the throne in 1474, dismissed the chroniclers appointed by their predecessors and replaced them with writers of their own choosing. In addition, the new monarchs endowed the office of *cronista del rey* with new prestige and granted its incumbent a regular salary of 40,000 *maravedís* per annum (later doubled by Charles V). For their part, the new chroniclers were expected 'to write, declare, copy and collect all of the information pertinent to [the chronicle of the reign]';¹³ to emulate the style of Livy and other ancient historians; and, finally, 'to embellish their chronicles with judgements based on philosophy and sound doctrine'.¹⁴

This kind of history was not easy to achieve, but the high standards outlined by the Catholic Monarchs demonstrate that the Renaissance, historiographically at least, had reached Castile. It also speaks to the importance which these monarchs attached to the writing of history: royal history was to be hedged against those individuals who, according to another chronicler, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, wrote about the monarchy 'without any feeling or affection', some solely 'for their amusement and delight, others with

atlántico. More specialised studies include Bermejo Cabrero, 'Orígenes' and Tate, 'El cronista real'.

¹¹ Note that the institutionalisation of state-sponsored or official history did not begin anywhere in Europe much before the middle years of the fifteenth century – that is, at more or less the same moment as the office of *cronista del rey* appeared in Castile. For a general introduction to the topic, see Guenéé, *Histoire et culture*.

¹² Cited in Tate, 'Mythology', p. 7.

¹³ Bermejo Cabrero, 'Orígenes', p. 408.

¹⁴ Fernando del Pulgar, as cited in Tate, 'El cronista real', p. 667.

bad intentions, simply to criticise'. For Oviedo, only a chronicler such as himself, one, that is, paid out of the royal purse, could be trusted to write about royalty 'with the truth and purity that is required'.¹⁵ He even immodestly likened the office of *cronista del rey* to that of an 'evangelist' charged with the responsibility of memorializing for eternity glories and honours that would otherwise fade with time. Official history, in short, became all the more objective and truthful simply by virtue of being produced by an officer of the crown.

The royal chronicler was therefore a court official first, a historian second. On the one hand, he was to write good, that is, truthful history; as one seventeenth-century royal chronicler put it: 'My job is to tell the truth'.¹⁶ He also had to offer the moral instruction and advice that history, as a humanistic discipline, was expected to convey. But royal chroniclers also had to write histories that embellished the honour and reputation of the monarchy itself. Pedro de Navarra underscored the complex relationship that existed between 'truthful history' and history that served political ends in a treatise on royal chroniclers that he dedicated to Philip II in 1565. Navarra admitted that a royal chronicler needed impartiality (*neutralidad*, in his language) if his history was ever to gain authority and respect, but he also recognised that the chronicler had to offer 'a more perfect notice of the [prince's] good deeds and to put them in perpetual memory'. This balancing act was delicate, and certainly one not easily learnt. For this reason, Navarra suggested that princes looking for chroniclers should scrupulously avoid those 'who are ignorant of learning, crude in style, low in judgement, lacking in memory, quick in believing, slow in understanding, vile in blood, obscure of life, and strangers to virtue and grace'.¹⁷

Few of the chroniclers who served the Habsburgs were as talented as those envisaged by Navarra, yet most seem to have understood the complex and somewhat contradictory nature of their responsibilities. But what kind of history were they expected to write? Their first obligation was to craft a vernacular chronicle of contemporary events, a kind of *apologia* favourable both to the interests of the monarchy and the personal image of the monarch himself. Self-advertisement of this sort had been the task of the chroniclers who had served the medieval monarchs of both Aragon and Castile, and this is exactly what Ferdinand and Isabella expected of Alonso de Palencia, Fernando del Pulgar, and the other individuals whom they appointed to the newly regularised office of *cronista del rey*. Gradually, however, partly in

¹⁵ Fernández de Oviedo, *Libro de la cámara real*, p. 174.

¹⁶ B[iblioteca] N[acional de] M [adrid]: Ms. 5732, fol. 49, Letter of Tomás Tamayo de Vargas, 18 agosto 1639.

¹⁷ Pedro de Navarra, 'Diálogos'. Navarra was the pen name of Pierre d'Albret, bishop of Comminges.

keeping with the momentous events of 1492, the monarchs developed an interest in history with a more universalist bent, together with one designed to demonstrate not only the antiquity and grandeur of Spain – preferably in Latin, whereby the message would reach an international audience – but also that of the monarchy itself. Alonso de Palencia (1423-1492) initiated this project in a (now lost) general history of Spain intended to examine ‘the antiquity of the Spanish people’ together with ‘the Roman empire in Spain and, following that, the fierceness of the Goths until the time of the Moorish anger’,¹⁸ but he was unable to finish it before his death. Ferdinand and Isabella subsequently persuaded Antonio de Nebrija (1441/4-1522) to write his own account of Spanish antiquities and commissioned another of their chroniclers, the transplanted Italian humanist, Lucio Marineo Siculo, to write a Latin panegyric; the latter was published as *De rebus hispaniae memorabilibus* (1497), and celebrated the glories, both past and present, of the Spanish monarchy.¹⁹ Ferdinand took further advantage of Nebrija when, after having officially appointed him *cronista del rey* in 1509, he asked the famous humanist to prepare a Latin translation of Pulgar’s *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* in the hope of bringing that record to the attention to readers outside of Spain.²⁰

Charles V did little to change the twofold division of the royal chroniclers’ tasks, although his initial concern was to complete the general history that both Palencia and Nebrija left unfinished. Starting in 1523, the Cortes de Castilla repeatedly urged Charles to sponsor an authoritative, printed edition of such older chronicles as the *crónica general*. ‘It is right’, the Cortes stated, ‘that the truth about past things be known; this is not possible in other, private books that are being read’.²¹ In the first instance, the Emperor assigned this project to a certain Fray Gonzalo Redondo, Abbot of Boada, but little was achieved until 1539 when, following a direct appeal by the Cortes to preserve ‘the memory of your distinguished predecessors together with that of your subjects’, Charles appointed Florián de Ocampo (c. 1499-1558), one of Nebrija’s disciples, to the office of *cronista del rey*, specifically assigning him the task of revising and publishing the *crónica general*.²² The methodical Ocampo, a churchman from Zámora and a scholar

¹⁸ Cited in Tate, ‘Alfonso de Palencia’, p. 193.

¹⁹ The book was later translated into Castilian and published as *De la cosas memorables de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1530).

²⁰ Nebrija’s *Décadas de la historia de los Reyes Católicos* was published in Castilian translation by his son in 1545. See *Nebrija historiador*, vol. I.

²¹ *Cortes de los antiguos reinos*, vol. IV, p. 382. The Cortes presented similar petitions to Charles in 1525, 1528, and 1538.

²² For Boada, see A[rchivo] G[eneral de] S[imancas]: Cámara de Castilla, leg. 183, no. 4, where, ca. 1530, it is reported: *Dize q por VM le fue mandado hazer y recopi-*

much criticised for his lack of critical judgement, may not have been the ideal choice, but by the time of his death in 1558 he had at least succeeded in publishing a narrative, which began with Tubal, grandson of Noah and legendary first king of Spain, and continued until the end of the Second Punic War (208 B.C.).²³

But while the Emperor paid lip service to the demands of the Cortes for general history, he was actually far more interested in that of his own reign and for this purpose appointed a series of chroniclers (five in all), assigning a different topic to each. Among these chroniclers was the humanist scholar, Fray Antonio de Guevara, who was appointed royal chronicler in 1526.²⁴ Guevara subsequently accompanied the Emperor on his famous expedition to Tunis, apparently with instructions to record that momentous event, but he never quite managed to write this or any other history. Almost equally disappointing was Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (c. 1490-1573), who was appointed royal chronicler in 1536 and charged with the task of writing Charles's history in Latin. By the mid-1540s the hard-working Sepúlveda had completed *De Rebus Gestis Caroli Quniti Imperatoris et Regis Hispaniae*, a work that chronicled the Emperor's achievements across two decades. However, for various reasons, among them, Sepúlveda's concern that he might have compromised historical truth by representing Charles as a great Christian monarch motivated solely by high ideals, the manuscript remained unpublished and only appeared in the late eighteenth century.²⁵ Charles had better luck with Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who had already published a book on the Indies when, in 1532, he was offered a salary to write an authoritative account of Spanish accomplishments in the New World. Although Oviedo was never officially appointed *cronista del rey*, his *Historia natural y general de las Indias* based largely on first-hand information that Oviedo had collected in the Indies, appeared in 1535 and again, in a revised second edition, in 1547. On the other hand, with the exception of Bernabé de Busto, author of a triumphant account of the Emperor's German campaigns, none of the Emperor's other chroniclers – Pedro Mexía, Juan Páez de Castro – ever completed their assigned tasks.²⁶ Their failure to do so may

lar las coronicas de España. For the Cortés petition, which dated from 1538, see *Cortes de los antiguos reinos*, vol. V, p. 152. Records of appointments to the office of *cronista del rey* may be found in AGS: *Quitaciones del Corte*.

²³ Ocampo's work appeared as *Los cinco libros* (1553).

²⁴ For Guevara as chronicler, see Redondò, *Antonio de Guevara*, pp. 303-349.

²⁵ See Ginés de Sepúlveda, 'Historia de Carlos V'. The introductory comments by Cuart Moner are especially insightful. Also useful is Alvar Ezquerra, 'Sobre la historiografía castellana', esp. pp. 91-94, and his 'La historia'.

²⁶ Busto (d. 1557), a cleric from Extremadura, was appointed *cronista del rey* in 1546. His account of Charles's military record during the German campaigns of

so may simply be coincidental, although it can be traced to Galíndez de Carvajal's earlier suggestion that the histories written by royal chroniclers 'ought not to be published during the lifetime of the king or prince they are writing about, in order to guarantee the historian the freedom he needs to write the truth without fear'.²⁷ Whatever the source of this collective writer's block, the chroniclers' silence seems to explain why Charles took matters into his own hands and, starting in 1550, began to write (or at least dictate) his own memoirs, with the help of his private secretary, Guillaume Van Male. His motivations for doing so remain unclear, but it was evidently connected both with his desire to protect both his historical reputation and to refute what he regarded as the spurious accounts of his reign written by Paolo Giovio and other contemporary Italian historians.²⁸

Charles's interest in writing his own history was not unprecedented. Julius Caesar had done so. So too had Jaime I, King of Aragon (1213-1276), whose autobiographical *Llibre dels feits* was modelled upon Caesar's *Commentaries*, and so too the Emperor Maximilian I, Charles's paternal grandfather. But few sixteenth-century monarchs had the inclination, let alone the ability, or even the time, to write their own histories. Personal memoirs, like autobiography, smacked of vanity, a deadly sin; hence the reluctance of Teresa de Avila and other saintly persons to undertake their own histories, even when prompted to do so by their spiritual advisors. Charles's reservations about autobiography were less pronounced; nevertheless, he still felt the need to insert an apology into the prologue of the one surviving copy of his memoirs:

This history is the one I wrote in romance, when we were travelling on the Rhine and which I finished in Augsburg. It is not written in the way I would wish, and God knows that I did not do it out of vanity, and if anyone

1543-1544 remains in manuscript (in the Library of El Escorial) but his *Empresa y conquista germánica del Emperador Carlos V*, a chronicle of the Emperor's war in Germany in 1546-47, was published in Graf van Looz-Corswaren, ed., *Bernabé de Busto*. He also wrote *Noticia de lo que pasó en Africa con Hernando de Vega y don Sancho de Leiva*, a manuscript which is also in El Escorial. Pedro Mexía (1500-1571), author of *Historia imperial y caesarea* (Seville, 1545) was appointed *cronista del rey* in 1548. His projected *Historia del Emperador Carlos V* was never completed. For a modern edition, see Mexía, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V*. For Páez de Castro, see below. The best general introduction to the Emperor's chroniclers remains Morel-Fatio, *L'historiographie de Charles V*.

²⁷ Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal's advice to chroniclers may be found in chapter 1 of his edition of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones*, p. 698.

²⁸ For these memoirs, see Fernández Alvarez, 'Las Memorias'. For Paolo Giovio see Price Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*.

should take offence at it, my excuse is that it was done more out of ignorance than out of maliciousness.²⁹

Charles's doubt about the propriety of his autobiographical enterprise also accounts for the exchange that supposedly took place between the Jesuit father, Francisco de Borja, and the Emperor, while the latter was residing at Yuste. As later reported, the Emperor asked Borja: 'Do you think any hint of vanity is involved when a man sets out to write about his deeds?' Borja's answer to this query is not known, but Charles, evidently feeling the need to justify his actions, added that

when he began writing his history, he was motivated neither by glory nor vanity but simply the idea of knowing the truth, because the historians of our times whom he had read had managed to obscure it, either out of ignorance or as a result of their particular aims and desires.³⁰

Charles, cognisant of the spiritual dangers that memoir writing entailed, was clearly on the defensive, and at one point he freely admitted that 'I was ready to burn everything'.³¹ Yet, as Charles also explained, history, especially the need for an official or 'truthful' history of his reign, required him to set his reservations aside and continue to write what his chroniclers referred to as 'a history of his deeds'.³² In the end, however, Charles decided to keep his history secret, and further instructed Philip that it should remain 'stored in the archives and not opened until ...'.³³ Unfortunately, Charles's instructions break off at this vital juncture, but whatever his precise wishes, Philip steadfastly refused to allow anyone access to his father's memoirs. In 1561, moreover, having learned that a copy had turned up among the Emperor's papers still in Brussels, Philip instructed officials residing there to search through the archive, find the history, and forward it to Madrid to be burnt.³⁴ Whether Philip ever went so far as to burn his father's history remains in doubt, but his refusal to permit its circulation, either in manuscript

²⁹ Morel-Fatio, *L'historiographie*, p. 162.

³⁰ Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Vida de San Francisco de Borja*, vol. II: chapt.. 18, fol. 109^v. See also Morel-Fatio, *L'historiographie*, p. 158. For a Protestant writer who had reservations about writing autobiography, see Randall Coats, *Subverting the System*, p. 169.

³¹ Morel-Fatio, *L'historiographie*, p. 186.

³² R[éal] A[cademia de] H[istoria]: Ms. Salazar y Castro, A 112, fol. 331, letter of Juan Páez de Castro to Jerónimo de Zurita, 12 July 1556. For more on the Emperor's memoirs, see Fernández Alvarez, 'Las 'Memorias''.

³³ Ribadeneira, *Vida de San Francisco de Borja*, fol. 110.

³⁴ Morel-Fatio, *L'historiographie*, p. 166.

or in print, offers invaluable insights into Philip's own attitudes towards history, and especially towards anything that resembled autobiography.

Juan Páez de Castro

Autobiography, however, was one thing, history another, and to understand the complexity as well as the diversity of Philip II's historical projects, it is useful to begin with two memoranda by Dr. Juan Páez de Castro, the Greek philologist and bibliophile who was appointed *cronista de rey* by the Emperor in September, 1555.³⁵ To mark this occasion, Páez de Castro (d. 1570) prepared the *Método para escribir la historia*, a manuscript treatise which, in addition to lauding the importance of history as a discipline, outlined plans for a general history similar to the one that Ocampo had already begun. As the new chronicler envisioned it, this history would couple a detailed geographical survey of the peninsula with a comprehensive narrative that began in antiquity, would continue through the Reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Muslims and the expansion of the monarchy overseas, and conclude with a section devoted to the reign of Charles V.³⁶

In a second memorandum addressed to Philip II and which can be dated to around 1556, Páez de Castro drafted plans for a royal library that would serve as both a museum and a repository whose contents could be used to write the general history he had outlined. This library, to be constructed in Valladolid, would incorporate three large rooms. The first, the library proper, was reserved for books, both ancient and modern, and decorated with portraits of distinguished scholars. The second room approximated a *cabinet des curiosités* filled with 'maps and city views', as well as scientific instruments of various sorts, antiquities, 'marvellous natural things', genealogies of monarchs, and portraits of famous people, among them, Columbus and Cortés. The third room – 'the most secret part' – was the archive, with state papers and treaties, royal testaments, and account books recording the expenses of the royal household. Páez de Castro also conceived of this archive as the perfect place for keeping 'the commentaries that your ancestors wrote about themselves as well those that Your Majesty will eventually write'.³⁷

Páez de Castro clearly understood that great monarchs needed to cultivate all of the learned arts, history among them. He also believed that great

³⁵ For the circumstances surrounding Páez de Castro's appointment see Morel-Fatio, *L'historiographie*, pp. 87-88.

³⁶ The text is published as Páez de Castro, 'De las cosas necesarias para escribir historia'.

³⁷ See Páez de Castro, 'Memorial'. The memorial is discussed in Checa Cremades, *Felipe II*, pp. 377-378.

monarchs such as Charles and Philip had the responsibility to write their own history or, at the very least, through the creation of archives, libraries, and the like make it possible for others to do so. It is therefore ironic that, in his office as royal chronicler, Páez de Castro proved a disaster. Not only was he a recluse who preferred the tranquillity of his native village of Quer (Guadalajara) to life at the royal court, but he was a scholar who liked to collect books, not write them.³⁸ As a result Páez de Castro did little to advance his proposed general history, nor did he write more than a few random notes pertaining to the history of the Emperor's reign.

Despite these failures, it is important to recognise that Páez de Castro exercised a profound influence on Philip II, mainly because the two memoranda he prepared in the 1550s were instrumental in helping to establish a cultural – and historiographical – programme for the new monarch. Looking closely, it appears that nearly all of the projects Páez de Castro had proposed – a royal archive and library, portrait galleries of famous men, topographical surveys, collections of maps and city views, and a *cabinet des curiosités* – were ones that Philip, with certain changes, embraced as his own.³⁹ Thus the royal library that Páez de Castro planned for Valladolid metamorphosed into the new royal library at El Escorial monastery, whereas his proposed secret archive took the form of (a) the royal archive at Simancas, a repository established by the Emperor but one that Philip totally reorganised in 1566, (b) the creation in Barcelona of what later became the Archivo de la Corona de Aragon; and (c) the archive of documents and papal privileges concerning the Spanish monarchy that Philip, in 1558, instructed the Aragonese humanist, Juan de Verzosa (1523-1574) to establish in the Spanish embassy in Rome.⁴⁰ Philip also adopted Páez de Castro's interest in city views when, in 1561, he brought the noted Flemish view painter, Anton van de Wyngaerde, to Spain and commissioned him to prepare views of the kingdom's principal towns. Some of these images were subsequently displayed in the Prado Palace while others found their way into the Real Al-

³⁸ Páez de Castro still awaits his biographer, even though much of his correspondence survives. See, for example, De Andrés, '31 Cartas inéditas de Juan Páez de Castro'.

³⁹ For more on Páez de Castro's influence on Philip, see Checa Cremades, *Felipe II*, pp. 368-387.

⁴⁰ For the archive in Rome, see López de Toro, *Epístolas*, p. xxv; García Hernán, 'La iglesia de Santiago'. For Simancas, see Rodríguez de Diego, *Instrucción*, along with his 'La formación'; López Vidriero and Catedra, eds, *El libro antiguo español. IV.*, pp. 519-557. Kamen, *Philip*, pp. 238-39, highlights Philip's role in the creation of an archive in Barcelona. For more archives in the sixteenth century, see Bouza Álvarez, *Del escribano a la biblioteca*, pp. 71-93.

cázar in Madrid.⁴¹ The chronicler's influence can also be detected in several of Philip's geographical projects, including the *Relaciones Geográficas*, the geographical questionnaires that Philip, starting in 1575, sent to royal officials both in Spain and the New World, and the Escorial Atlas, a comprehensive, detailed map of the Iberian peninsula executed during the 1570s by an international team of cartographers headed by Pedro de Esquivel.⁴² There also appears to have been a connection between the chronicler's recommendations and other projects, such as the collections of both maps and instruments that Philip II assembled at El Escorial as well as the king's portrait galleries, among them, the thirty portraits of illustrious men that Philip commissioned from the artist Alonso Sánchez Coello in 1571.⁴³

‘Your Majesty’s History’

Páez de Castro was almost equally successful in determining the kinds of history writing that Philip chose to support, although he failed on one crucial point: autobiography. As noted above, implicit in the second of the chronicler's memoranda was the notion that Philip, like Charles, would eventually undertake his own history. Yet Philip, cognisant perhaps of Borja's conversation with the Emperor, would have nothing of it. He also separated himself from his father by rejecting suggestions that he appoint chroniclers to keep an official record of contemporary events. In the 1550s various members of Philip's household, following the Emperor's example of having his every move recorded, wrote books chronicling the prince's travels in northern Europe, but Philip put a stop to this practice as soon as he became king.⁴⁴ He also rejected suggestions that he sponsor an official history of his reign. In 1565, for example, Pedro de Navarra, suggested that he ‘emulate the example of Christ, who had named four chroniclers to narrate his achievements for didactic reasons as well as for eternity’.⁴⁵ But Philip, who was still relatively young, was not ready to listen to this advice. In 1565, he appointed a *cronista* to continue the *crónica general* (see below), but, for the moment at least, stubbornly refused to name chroniclers for other purposes, a policy that left Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, his

⁴¹ For this commission, see *Cities of the Golden Age* (ed. Kagan), and *idem*, ‘Philip II’.

⁴² For an introduction to these projects, see Parker, ‘Maps and Ministers’.

⁴³ I[nstituto de] V[alencia] D[on] J[uan]: Envío 44, nos. 152-56, commission dated 28 Nov. 1571. See also Civil, ‘Culture et histoire’.

⁴⁴ These books included Vicente Alvarez, *Relation du beau voyage*; Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, *El felcismo viaje*; Andrés Muñoz, *Viaje del Felipe II*, and Jean Vandenesse, *Journal des voyages*.

⁴⁵ Pedro de Navarra, *Diálogos*, p. iv.

former tutor and author of a book that recorded Philip's trip to the Netherlands in 1548, without an official post.⁴⁶ In 1570, for example, Estrella actively solicited the office of *cronista del rey*, promising 'to write at the close of each year a Latin chronicle of the year's noteworthy events', but Philip, still wary of contemporary history, pointedly ignored this request.⁴⁷

The first sign of change in this attitude occurred in 1571, when Philip appointed Juan López de Velasco to the newly-created double office of *Cosmógrafo y Cronista Mayor de las Indias* with specific orders to 'compile and write a general history of the Indies as well as to organise and prepare a cosmography of the said Indies'.⁴⁸ Velasco, however, was far more interested in maps than in chronicles, and consequently ignored the general history of the Indies that he was commissioned to write. In the long run his refusal to do so earned him the hatred of the Council of the Indies, which in 1591 asked to have his title of chronicler revoked. On the other hand, Velasco's lackadaisical attitude towards history was partly in keeping with Philip's reservations about what one Aragonese historian, writing around 1600, referred to as 'the events of our time'.⁴⁹

Philip's doubts about this particular subject also led him to resist all attempts on the part of other historians to publish his biography. An early demonstration of this occurred in 1572, when the monarch learned that Juan de Verzosa, archivist of the Spanish embassy in Rome had written the king's history from 1554 – the year in which Philip became king of England – until 1565 or 1566. In June 1572 Verzosa informed one of the king's secretaries that the monarch would become 'very famous' as soon as this history appeared. 'Without any bragging', the archivist wrote, 'it is a great work'. What happened next is not altogether clear, but the king, who may have learned of Verzosa's boasts, appears to have stopped the book's publication and ordered the manuscript deposited for safe keeping in the royal archive at Simancas.⁵⁰

The fate of the other manuscripts that examined Philip's history was much the same. In 1572, for example, the king ignored the suggestion of don Luis de Requeséns, his ambassador in Rome, that he engage the ser-

⁴⁶ This book (see above, note 39) was tantamount to a biography of the prince.

⁴⁷ This letter is cited in Díaz Gito, 'Un epigrama'. See also López de Toro, *De Rebus Indicis*, p. xxxvi.

⁴⁸ *Provision de Felipe II nombrando a Juan López de Velasco cronista-cosmógrafo mayor de las Yndias*, 20 Oct. 1571, published in Vicente Maroto and Esteban Piñero, *Aspectos*, pp. 432-434.

⁴⁹ The phrase is that of the Aragonese chronicler Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola. See his 'Sobre las cualidades', vol. 2, p. 271.

⁵⁰ Verzosa's comments may be found in López de Toro, *Epístolas*, pp. 268, 271. Portions of his manuscript are in AGS: Estado, Libro 20.

vices of Humberto Foglietta, an Italian scholar, interested in writing a history on ‘the ancient and modern affairs of Spain’.⁵¹ Nor did Philip do anything to promote publication of Viglius van Aytta’s account of the Dutch revolt, even though it was overtly sympathetic to the Catholic – and to Philip’s – cause in the Netherlands.⁵² Yet another, and somewhat better documented instance of Philip’s lack of interest in ‘the events of our time’ occurred in 1573, when the royal confessor, Fray Bernardo de Fresneda, suggested that the king lend his support to the publication of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda’s Latin history of the early part of his reign. Fresneda advised Philip about the importance of this history, together with that of another that Sepúlveda had written about Charles V and the Indies in an effort to defend the reputation of the monarchy against the calumnies of Fray Bartolomé de la Casas – Fresneda was referring to Las Casas’s notorious *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las indias*, a treatise published twenty years earlier. The king’s response to his confessor is not recorded, but Philip apparently rejected Fresneda’s advice, and, in doing so, blocked publication of Sepúlveda’s work.⁵³

Ambrosio de Morales and the Crónica General

For all of Philip’s reservations about the history of current events, he took a lively interest in that of earlier times, actively promoting, as noted above, the creation of archives both in Simancas, Barcelona, and in Rome. He also sought to promote the general history that Alonso de Santa Cruz had proposed in his *Método* but subsequently abandoned. The king’s interest in this particular project was partly inspired by the publication, starting in 1562, of Jerónimo de Zurita’s *Anales de Aragón*, an erudite, elegantly written chronicle that Philip apparently first read – ‘enjoying everything’ – in 1564 on a journey to attend a meeting of the Aragonese Cortes in Monzón.⁵⁴ Interest-

⁵¹ AGS: Estado 918, no. 78, Luis de Requeséns to Antonio Pérez, 12 marzo 1578. I owe this reference to the courtesy of Michael Levin. For details, see his ‘A Spanish Eye on Italy’, pp. 309-310. In 1558 the Cardinal Granvelle, one of Charles V’s principal advisors, had contacted Foglietta about the possibility of writing a history of the Emperor’s wars in Germany. See Fernandez Alvarez, ‘*Memorias*’, pp. 709-715.

⁵² See Wauters, *Mémoires de Viglius*, pp. 1-158, where the text of Viglius’s *Philippo Secundo Rege Oratio* is published both in French and Latin. I am grateful to Geoffrey Parker for bringing this work to my attention.

⁵³ IVDJ: Envio 44, fol. 147 r, document of 18 May 1573. One copy of Sepúlveda’s *De rebus gestis Philippi Regis Hispaniae. Liber Primus* may be found in the B[iblioteca] N[acional de] M [adrid]: Ms. 2046.

⁵⁴ On November 18, 1564, the royal chronicler, Ambrosio de Morales, informed Zurita that *estara el rey N.S. leyendolos [sus anales] en Monzón, y aprobandolo tanto*. Cited in Andrés de Uztarroz and Dormer, *Progresos*, p. 167.

ingly, the publication of the *Anales* was riddled with controversy. Alonso de Santa Cruz and several other Castilian scholars, pointing to what they perceived as the anti-Castilianism of Zurita's work, were highly critical of Zurita and at one stage even tried to block the book's publication in Castile.⁵⁵ On the other hand, Zurita's admirers far outnumbered his detractors. More importantly, he had the support of the king, who rewarded him in 1566 by appointing Zurita to the post of royal secretary. The success of the *Anales*, however, appears to have convinced Philip of the need for published histories of his other kingdoms, Castile included, along with a general history that embraced the monarchy as a whole.

It is important to recognise that Philip II, among all his other interests – architecture, gardens, maps, paintings, relics, etc. – had a special liking for history, especially that of Spain's Middle Ages. His secretaries' letters reveal some of his reading preferences: the influential *Crónica General* of Alfonso X, and the *Crónica de Juan II*, a work of the fifteenth-century *converso* chronicler, Alvar García de Santa María (d. 1460). Yet Philip was annoyed by the apparent shortage of manuscript histories written in a script that he could read. Thus in 1574, in a note directed to Jerónimo de Zurita, the royal secretary Antonio Gracián, wrote:

The king wants to see the *gestas* of the King don Alonso [X]; His Majesty asked me what *gestas* (deeds) were, and I told him that were like old chivalric tales; he then wanted to see if this were so.

A few weeks later, again with reference to this particular chronicle, Gracián reported: 'On the day he departed from Móstoles, His Majesty told me that he would like to see this book [written] in a clear hand that he could read'.⁵⁶ Evidently, the lack of readily-available (and legible) copies of Castile's medieval chronicles helped spark the monarch's interest in the preparation – and publication – of a new *crónica general*.

The chronicler whom Philip selected for this project was Ambrosio de Morales (1513-91), a Cordoban cleric and humanist who regarded the *crónica* as a matter of national pride. As Morales tells it, he was only a youth when he became interested 'in writing about the history and antiqui-

⁵⁵ According to one observer, the main criticism of Zurita was that *escribe como aragonés en lo que toca a las cosas de Castilla, en juicio de ella, y sin de su honra*. See RAH: Ms. Salazar de Castro A 112, fol. 77. For more on the controversy sparked by the *Anales*, see Uztarroz and Dormer, *Progresos* and Enrique Flórez's introduction to the 1791 edition of Ambrosio de Morales's *Coronica general* (see below, note 57).

⁵⁶ Letters of 10 Jan. and 11 Feb. 1574 transcribed in Uztarroz and Dormer, *Progresos*, p. 590.

ties of Spain'. Morales's taste for these subjects came partly from his uncle, Fernan Pérez de Oliva, a humanist scholar from whom he had learned both Latin and Greek, although it may also have been related to his decision, as a young friar, to cut off 'his virile members', an act of self-mutilation that left him 'as smooth as the palm of a hand'. Whatever the precise source of Morales's interest in history, his devotion to the subject was total and led him, as a professor at the University of Alcalá de Henares, to fill his house with antique inscriptions in an effort to inspire students to learn more about the past. 'They want to know more about them [the inscriptions] and what they mean', he proudly wrote. As for the *crónica general*, Morales reportedly became convinced of the necessity for such a work in 1560 when, during the meeting of Cortes of Castile in Toledo, he heard an Italian ambassador complain that 'the Spaniards ... have not yet written about either their antiquities or the rest of their history'.⁵⁷ The incident may be apocryphal, but by 1563 Morales petitioned the Castilian Cortes to appoint him *cronista del reino*, an honorary position for which he asked for no other remuneration beyond the opportunity to 'serve the kingdom'.⁵⁸

Appointed *cronista del rey* in 1565, Morales's obligations in this office entailed much more than the writing of the *crónica general*. As *cronista*, he served as the king's censor and thus asked to approve various books for publication. He was also involved in plans for the decorative scheme of El Escorial. In 1566, for example, essentially following the model that he established in his own house in Alcalá, Morales advised Philip that the Escorial ought to be filled with diverse inscriptions and specifically recommended that every doorway in the gigantic edifice offer 'some good quotation from Holy Scripture, from the Church Fathers, from a [monastic] rule or some other pointed phrase that would speak to, warn and advise those who enter and pass through them'. 'This', he added, 'would be a fine ornament, as it would transform dead stones into live ones'.⁵⁹

Yet another of Morales's responsibilities as *cronista del rey* was to help gather books and manuscripts for the royal library that Philip, following Páez de Castro's suggestion, was organising in El Escorial. In 1566 Morales presented the monarch with a *Parecer sobre la librería de El Escorial*, a document which, unlike that of Páez de Castro, offered specific suggestions as to which items the new royal library ought to contain. Subsequently,

⁵⁷ For these biographical details, see the introduction by Enrique Flórez to *Crónica general*.

⁵⁸ *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla* (Madrid, 1877), vol. 1, p. 251.

⁵⁹ AGS: Casas y Sitios Reales, leg. 258, fol. 243. Letter dated Alcalá de Henares, Sept. 20, 1566. Previously, Morales occupied the office of *cronista del reino*, an honorary office awarded him by the Cortes of Castile. See Alvar Ezquerro, 'Sobre la historiografía castellana', p. 96.

many of the items destined for this collection passed through Morales's hands, and in 1570, upon learning of Páez de Castro's death, Philip II sent Morales on a 'literary voyage' to Quer, with instructions to make an inventory of the deceased chronicler's papers and to forward his valuable collection of Greek, Latin, and Arabic manuscripts to El Escorial. Two years later Philip dispatched Morales on yet another literary voyage: an extended journey to Asturias, Galicia and León, during which the chronicler was to locate and inventory old manuscripts and relics and also to determine which of these items belonged in El Escorial.⁶⁰ Philip had similar aims when, in 1575, he sent Morales to Plasencia to inspect the Greek and Latin manuscripts collected by that city's recently deceased bishop, Pedro Ponce de León, and also when he sent him to Córdoba in order to report on 'incidents and events' relating to the discovery there of certain bones pertaining to the 'holy martyrs of Córdoba'.⁶¹

Morales's literary voyages provide interesting insights into the diversity and range of Philip's historical interests. They also help to explain why Morales, despite his avowed interest in history, was unable to do much to advance the *crónica general*.⁶² In 1575 he published his *Antigüedades de las ciudades de España*, a glowing and somewhat uncritical compendium of Spain's Roman antiquities. He also published parts of the *crónica general* that brought the story forward to the eleventh century, albeit in a way that all but ignored the history of al-Andalus, a bias that stemmed from his claim that he had no interest in 'writing about events in the time of the Moors'.

Thus, when Morales died in 1591, the *crónica general* that Philip – and the Cortes – had long envisioned was still not complete. At this juncture the royal cosmographer, Juan López de Velasco, upset by what he described as 'the inopportuneness and never finishing of the historians', advised Philip to entrust the *crónica* to a committee or *junta* composed of two or three scholars and one soldier. Such a *junta*, he claimed, could complete the *crónica* 'in a very short time and without much expense for His Majesty'.⁶³ But Philip – an early critic of history by committee – rejected this cumbersome

⁶⁰ The journey is recorded in Morales, *Viaje santo por Ambrosio de Morales*.

⁶¹ This journey is mentioned in BNM: Ms 5732, fols. 49-50, letter of Tamayo de Vargas, 18 Aug 1639.

⁶² Morales contributions to the *crónica* (libros 6-17) were published as *La coronica general de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1574); *Los otros dos libros de la coronica general de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1577), and *Los cinco libros postreros de la coronica general de España* (Córdoba, 1586).

⁶³ A[rchivo y] B[iblioteca] Z[abálburu]: carpeta 159, fol. 107, Memorandum of Juan López de Velasco, *Que Su Mag. deve mandar escrevir su historia*. Ironically, López de Velasco, who was briefly *Cronista Mayor de las Indias*, never wrote much history himself.

arrangement in favour of Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa (1533-1599), an energetic Basque historian who had already published a survey of Spanish history that began with the Creation and ended with King Pelayo in the eighth century.⁶⁴ Yet Garibay, who was appointed *cronista del rey* in 1592, also proved a disappointment. To be sure, during his tenure as chronicler he prepared inscriptions for the series of royal portraits that Philip wanted as decoration for the throne room (Sala de los Reyes) in the royal palace in Segovia and, in addition, drafted a preliminary outline or *traça* of a history of Philip's reign (see below). He also collected materials for genealogies of the Spanish royal house, but during his five years as royal chronicler Garibay did nothing to advance the *crónica general*. Rather, he appears to have used the office primarily as a means of lending additional authority to his previous publications, thus confirming one councillor's opinion that 'he only wanted [the said office] in order to give more authority to his writings'.⁶⁵

In the end, the three royal chroniclers whom Philip assigned to the *crónica* failed to complete their designated task. Yet Philip was lucky. In 1592 Juan de Mariana (1535?-1624), a Jesuit scholar without any official connection with the royal court, published his *Historia de rebus hispaniae*, a work which he subsequently translated into Castilian and published as the *Historia general de España* (1601). This history was a monumental achievement, and essentially accomplished what several generations of royal chroniclers could not: a comprehensive, erudite, and readable narrative that emphasised the formative role of the monarchy in the creation of a unitary – and Catholic – Spanish state. In fact, the book's avowed aim was to highlight what Mariana in the book's prologue called 'the grandeurs of Spain'. Accordingly, his history studiously endeavoured to survey the record of the peninsula as a whole. 'We are not content', wrote Mariana, 'with relating the deeds of the kingdom only, but those of all the parts of Spain'. In addition, Mariana sought to mix 'the secular accomplishments of the monarchy' with 'the ecclesiastical accomplishments of the church' and to examine these from the reign of Tubal and Spain's other mythical monarchs until the era of Ferdinand and Isabella.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Esteban de Garibay, *Los xl libros*. For a brief biography of Garibay, see Alvar Ezquerro, 'Sobre la historiografía castellana', pp. 99-106.

⁶⁵ ABZ: carpeta 160, fo. 54. For Garibay's work in Segovia, see Collar de Cáceres's introduction to Garibay's *Letreros e insignias reales*. Garibay's book was originally published in 1593. For Garibay's interest in genealogies, see the critical comments of Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas cited in Bouza Alvarez, 'Guardar papeles', p. 8. For Garibay's own thoughts about his work as royal chronicler, see *Memorias de Garibay* (ed. Gayangos).

⁶⁶ Citations from *Obras completas de Juan de Mariana*, vol. 1, pp. li-lii.

As history, Mariana's book was well short of perfect. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, another of Philip's chroniclers, described parts of the *Historia general* as 'pure conjecture', and additionally faulted Mariana for having failed to do the archival work necessary 'to reveal all of the truth, which is the soul of history'.⁶⁷ But despite these and other criticisms, the *Historia general* became standard reading, quickly establishing itself as the 'official' *crónica* that Philip II had long desired. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the monarch's own reaction to Mariana's history, and there is the distinct possibility that Philip, who was not a skilled Latinist, never even read the book prior to his death (1598). Nevertheless, the publication of Mariana's history left the monarch free to consider other historical projects, among them, 'the events of our time', a subject that Mariana had pointedly omitted from his book, yet one that seemingly interested the aging monarch more and more.⁶⁸

'The events of our time'

The first indication of a change in Philip's attitudes towards 'the events of our time' comes in the form of a letter written by Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, royal chronicler of the Indies (*Cronista Mayor de las Indias*) in 1599. The letter records an interview that Herrera had in 1585 with Juan de Idiáquez, Councillor of State and one of Philip II's closest advisors.⁶⁹ In that year Herrera was an aspiring historian in the service of Vespasiano Gonzaga Colonna, Philip's viceroy in Valencia, and was extremely anxious for royal patronage. In the letter Herrera recounts how Idiáquez commissioned him to write a 'life of His Majesty' but within certain, pre-determined limits. For one thing, the councillor told him that the king was so 'circumspect' that he did not want a 'life', that is, a biography. On the other hand, Idiáquez suggested that Herrera undertake a 'general history of the world', and start it in 1559, the year in which Philip concluded a peace treaty with France and began his personal reign in Spain. That kind of history, the councillor explained, was necessary because a number of foreign scholars – he was probably thinking of the Venetian historians, Giovanni Battista Adriani and

⁶⁷ BNM: Ms. 5781, fol. 130. For the reception of Mariana's history, see Cirot, *Mariana historiën* and Soons, *Juan de Mariana*, pp. 23-46, and García Hernán, 'Construcción', pp. 136-141.

⁶⁸ Note, however, that Mariana was totally *engagé* with respect to such contemporary issues as currency reform, gambling, the education of Philip III, etc. For his treatises on these subjects, see his *Obras completas*, vol. 2.

⁶⁹ Archivo de los Condes de Orgaz (Avila), Secc. Castrillo, leg. XVI, Antonio de Herrera to don Bernardino de Avellaneda, 22 Nov. 1599. I owe this reference to the kindness of Fernando Bouza.

Pietro Giustiniani – had already published histories that did little to promote Spanish interests, and, even worse, contained ‘gossip [that could be used by] rivals of His Majesty and our nation’.⁷⁰

The extent to which Philip involved himself in this project remains unknown, although, in another letter – also dating from 1599 – Herrera reported: ‘His Majesty ordered me to investigate how one might write about his glorious life, and, after having discussed various possibilities, modesty suggested that it should take the form of a general history of the world, the first part of which would begin in the year 1559 and continue through 1585 ...’.⁷¹ If Herrera is to be trusted, and in this instance I believe he probably should be, Philip’s thinking about official history had changed dramatically since the 1560s and 1570s when, as already noted, he studiously ignored any work that purported to write ‘the events of our time’. It is difficult to pinpoint the precise moment, let alone the precise causes of this turnabout, although it was undoubtedly connected to the monarch’s advancing age – Philip turned sixty in 1587 – as well as his increasingly precarious health; in 1585, for example, the monarch was so ill that many thought he would die. The 1580s, moreover, marked a moment when the Philip experienced direct and sustained personal attack from various enemies, both foreign and domestic. The first to do this, at least publicly, was William, Prince of Orange, the Dutch nobleman whose famous *Apologie*, written in 1580 in direct response to Philip II’s decision to declare him an outlaw, compared the Spanish monarch with the Emperor Tiberius, the archetypal tyrant accused of having murdered members of his own family for political gain. Orange thus implicated Philip in both the death of his wife, Isabel de Valois, as well as that of his own son and heir, the infante don Carlos.⁷² He also criticised Philip for both his personal failings – adultery, illegitimate children – and his political shortcomings, notably his failure to respect the laws and privileges of the Low Countries, all in an effort to convince ‘the kings and rulers of the Christian world’ of the illegality of Philip’s actions against him.

The impact of Orange’s accusations was immediate. Translated into several languages and reprinted many times, the *Apologie* circulated widely

⁷⁰ The text of the letter is printed in Bouza Alvarez, ‘Para no olvidar’, p. 162.

⁷¹ Letter of 20 April 1600, Herrera to Archduke Albert of Austria, cited in Morel-Fatio, ‘El cronista Antonio de Herrera’.

⁷² This particular rumour is attributed both to Louis de Foix, a French engineer in the service of Isabel de Valois, as well as to Pierre de Bourdielle, Seigneur de Brantôme, who, during his stay at the Spanish court in 1564–65, described Philip as a Machiavellian fanatic, a monarch prepared to sacrifice everything, his own son included, for the interests of the Catholic Church. Brantôme’s diatribe against Philip, however, was not published until 1651. See Lalanne, *Œuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdielle*, pp. 71–99.

throughout Europe, especially in Protestant areas, where it acted as a catalyst, sparking dozens of other libels and polemics, each designed to defame Philip, and along with him, Spaniards in general. It also led to more serious works, among them, a *Histoire générale de l'Espagne* (Lyon, 1587) by Louis Mayerne de Tourquet, a French Protestant exiled in England. The *Histoire*, rarely read today, is an interesting, original and provocative work albeit one that portrayed Philip as a murderous, tyrannical king.⁷³

Back at home, criticism of Philip also mounted as Castile's economy slumped and poverty increased. Already in 1580 one prominent Jesuit, in a private letter directed to the Inquisitor General, expressed alarm that many of the king's vassals were 'embittered, discontented and upset with His Majesty'.⁷⁴ In the decade that followed, the number of such individuals multiplied, as a succession of street prophets openly asserted that Philip was personally responsible for the kingdom's multiple problems, both at home and abroad. The defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588, followed by Drake's raids in Galicia and in Portugal the succeeding year made it even easier for critics to represent Philip as old and weak, a monarch so feeble that he was unable to look after the welfare of his vassals, let alone defend them against armed attack.⁷⁵ Philip's reputation probably reached its nadir in 1591, a year marked by anti-tax riots in both Avila and Madrid, as well as the so-called 'alteraciones de Aragón', a more serious upheaval triggered by the arrest of Philip's fugitive secretary, Antonio Pérez, in Zaragoza. As is well known, Pérez subsequently escaped to France and published his *Relaciones*, a scurrilous, anti-Philippine polemic but one which, coming as it did from a Spaniard who was formerly a close intimate of the monarch, served only to further undermine Philip's reputation.⁷⁶

Under the circumstances, with both his person and his policies under attack, and the distinct possibility that his history would be the work of his enemies, Philip seems finally to have forgotten about Borja's criticisms of his father's interest in autobiography. Memoirs were still out of the question for this 'circumspect' king, but by the mid-1580s Philip was clearly ready to sponsor an official history of his reign. His first step in this direction oc-

⁷³ The reference to Philip is from De Mayerne Turquet, *General Historie of Spain*, p. 1286. This important but little known work traces Spain's history from antiquity until 1582.

⁷⁴ Letter of Pedro de Ribadeneira to Gaspar de Quiroga, 16 Feb. 1580, as cited in Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, p. 159.

⁷⁵ For more on the criticisms of Philip II during the 1580s and 1590s, see my *Lucrecia's Dreams*. See also Domínguez Ortiz, 'Un testimonio'.

⁷⁶ Pérez, *Cartas y Relaciones*. Copies of the Pérez's *Relaciones* quickly arrived in Spain and by the start of the seventeenth century were circulating quite freely in Salamanca and other cities.

curred in 1587 when he created a new office – *cronista en latín* – for Calvete de Estrella, apparently in the hope that the aging humanist would be able to write the annals of his reign in Latin, presumably for distribution abroad.⁷⁷ Philip's newly-discovered interest in official history also manifested itself in the 1591 appointment of João Bautista Labanha (or Labaña) to another new office, that of *Cosmógrafo-Cronista Mayor de Portugal*, as well as in his decision to separate the office of *Cronista Mayor de las Indias* from that *Cosmógrafo Mayor de las Indias*, so that the new incumbent – Lic. Arías de Loyola (appointed 1591) – would pay more attention to 'the general, moral, and particular history of the deeds and momentous events that occurred and continue to occur in those regions' than had the previous chronicler, Juan López de Velasco.⁷⁸ In the meantime, Philip looked for a historian prepared to embark upon 'the events of our time' in Castilian.

Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas

The individual whom Philip selected for this all-important task was none other than Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas. As noted earlier, Herrera (1544-1626) first met Philip around 1585, and with the help of Juan de Idiáquez, formulated a plan to set Philip's 'life' within of a broader world history, a stratagem designed to overcome Philip's objections to any history that hinted at biography. Supported by Idiáquez, the Count of Chinchón, and other members of Philip's inner circle, Herrera immediately set to work on this vast project. His original plan was to prepare a series of 'particular histories', each devoted to different aspects of Philip's reign. As a historian, Herrera was not altogether original, as he was a scholar who chiefly relied on the work of others rather than engage in original archival research. He was also one who regularly suspended his 'neutrality' in order to write history that both justified and supported Philip's policies. As a result, modern scholars have tended to ignore Herrera; yet, whatever his particular shortcomings as a historian, the importance of his many histories lies in the fact that together they comprise what Philip evidently wanted his official history to be.

The first of Herrera's histories, one recounting Philip's conquest of Portugal in 1580-82, was a wholly triumphalist narration written expressly to counter the work of Girolamo di Conestaggio, a Genoese historian whose interpretation of these same events was considered so damaging to the repu-

⁷⁷ Unfortunately for Philip, Estrella, who died in 1593, was already too old and too frail to complete these annals. For details, see Díaz Gito, 'Un epigrama'.

⁷⁸ Details on these appointments may be found in Vicente Maroto and Esteban Piñeiro, *Aspectos*, pp. 99-100.

tation of the monarchy that Philip II attempted to suppress its circulation in Spain.⁷⁹ Herrera's next work, published in 1590, examined events in England and Scotland during the era of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots (1542-1587). This too was a blatantly partisan work, written in the wake of the defeat of the Armada and meant to refute the history of Scotland (*Rerum Scoticarum Historia*) that the Protestant scholar, George Buchanan, published in 1582. Herrera dismissed the claim to veracity of this history, denigrating its author as 'a great heretic ... and the falsest, most lying historian in the world'. Herrera, in contrast, claimed that he was telling the 'truth' about Mary's history including her mistreatment by Queen Elizabeth I. He likened the latter to a 'monster' and declared her one whose 'diabolic fervour' made her the modern, female equivalent of Diomedes, the Greek ruler who taught his horses to eat human flesh but who was eventually vanquished by Hercules. Herrera, moreover, transformed the myth into contemporary politics, when he proclaimed that: 'This Hercules will be the invincible Philip II, king of Spain'.⁸⁰ Thus, as in his previous history of Portugal, this history – though published after the defeat of the Armada – amounted to a passionate defence of Philip's right, on religious grounds, to intervene in English politics.

As Herrera busied himself with these and a series of other, equally political histories, he continued work on the general history that Idiáquez had originally commissioned him to write.⁸¹ A sense of this particular project may be found in the *Traça y orden para la chronica del Catholico Rey N[uest]ro Señor Don Phelipe el Segundo, y apuntamientos de matherias por sus años*, a document that was originally drafted by Esteban de Garibay in September, 1593, and subsequently appropriated and revised by Herrera.⁸² This particular document had its origins when two of Philip's councillors, Juan de Idiáquez and Cristóbal de Moura, summoned Garibay to a secret meeting in the royal palace in Madrid and asked him to prepare

⁷⁹ See Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas, *Cinco libros*.

⁸⁰ *Idem, Historia de lo sucedido en Escocia y Inglaterra*, p. 171. Herrera dedicated this book to the Count of Chinchón, a powerful member of Philip's Council of State.

⁸¹ Among these projects was a Castilian translation of Giovanni Botero's *Ragion di Stato*, an influential treatise that, among other things, advised (in Book IX, 'Rewards') rulers to protect and enhance their 'reputation' by means of a 'finely-written history which is read by everyone and goes all over the world'.

⁸² The original text of *traça* is located in BNM: Ms. 1750, fols. 538-549, but a transcription is now available in Kagan, *El Rey Recatado Felipe II*, pp. 77-103. Originally drafted in 1593, the *traça* was revised around the time of Philip's death. Note also that it was c. 1591-92 that the royal cosmographer, Juan López de Velasco, prepared a similar but decidedly shorter memorandum, 'Que deve S.M. escribir su historia'. See above, note 57.

an outline for a history of Philip's reign. In his *Memorias*, Garibay reports the incident as follows:

Meeting very secretly in the rooms of don Cristóbal, the two councillors told me that I should prepare a document outlining the best way in which His Majesty's history might be written. At the time, I responded with two suggestions. One was a single-volume history organised in the commonly accepted and popular annalistic style, that would proceed year by year, starting with that of his birth. The other was a four-volume work, in which the first dealt with matters pertaining to Spain; the second would be for those of the Indies; the third for Flanders and the fourth for Italy. Señor don Cristóbal preferred the second, and they both instructed me to prepare a written outline by the time His Majesty either went to the Prado [one of Philip's palaces] or came here to Madrid.⁸³

The written *traça* that Garibay prepared began with a standard defence of the 'enormous utility of history', and asserted that a monarch as powerful as Philip needed his own chronicle, both to preserve the memory of his achievements for future generations and to make certain that this memory corresponded to the monarch's own understanding of truth. The *traça* also suggested two ways in which this history might be organised. The first, as Garibay noted his *Memorias*, was a straightforward annalistic account, or a history that recounted events on a year by year basis. This, according to Garibay, represented 'the common style and the one most frequently used by various nations and towns'. The second and more 'unusual' or *extraordinaria* way of writing Philip's history would be to divide it into four separate volumes, each 'corresponding to the four principal parts into which His Majesty's great monarchy is divided, namely Spain, Italy, Flanders, and the West Indies, and, now, the East Indies as well'. After making these suggestions, Garibay noted: 'His Majesty will decide which one of these he likes and which one appears most sound', and again, 'of these two styles, which is the one His Majesty wishes to select.' Unfortunately, neither the document nor Garibay's *Memorias* record Philip's choice, and the only thing known is that Idiáquez, having seen the written *traça* that Garibay had prepared 'heartily approved it and was very content'.⁸⁴ Yet the consequent meeting with the monarch that Garibay had hoped for never occurred, and the aging chronicler, convinced that Idiáquez was purposely ignoring him – he used the word 'buried' – became discouraged and abandoned the project.

⁸³ Garibay, *Memorias*, pp. 587-88. A copy of the *traça* was included among the papers Garibay left behind at his death in 1599. See Antolín, 'Inventario', p. 26.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 588.

What happened next is not altogether clear, but Idiáquez, with the apparent approval of the monarch, turned over the *traça* to his protégé, Antonio de Herrera, who was already at work on his own history of Philip's reign. Herrera subsequently appropriated Garibay's ideas about how to write the king's history, and, with only minor revisions, organised his own account of Philip's reign accordingly. He completed Part I of his *Historia general del mundo* in 1586, putting it in traditional annalistic form. The manuscript originally covered the period from 1559 to 1583, but when the volume was published – in 1601, or three years after Philip's death – it only incorporated events from 1559 to 1573.⁸⁵

In the meantime, Herrera, whom Philip rewarded with the office of *Cronista Mayor de las Indias* in 1596, published a series of more specialised histories relating to Garibay's previous suggestion that Philip's history could also be written in terms of the 'principal parts' of his realm. The first of these, published in 1598, was a history of France and written, as Herrera reported, on the orders of the king – 'he ordered to write about happenings in France'.⁸⁶ A hack work similar to the ones he had previously published, this history was little more than an extended defence of Philip's right to intervene in France's civil wars, or, as one contemporary document described it, a work 'proving that His Majesty was moved to help the [French] Catholics only for religious reasons alone'.⁸⁷ But the hard-working Herrera was still not finished, and in quick succession he published a series of histories relating to Milan (1598), Turkey (1598), and Flanders (1600),⁸⁸ as well as his far more impressive *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar oceano* (1601), a work designed to refute Las Casas's allegations about Spanish cruelties in the New World.⁸⁹ In fact, in the dedication, Herrera recalls that in 1596 Philip had specifically asked him to write this particular book and that he did it because:

⁸⁵ The first part appeared with the title *Primera parte de la historia general del mundo, de xvi años del señor rey don Felipe II el prudente, desde el año MDLIX a DLXXIII* (1601). The remaining portions of the history, which eventually reached 1590, appeared in two subsequent volumes.

⁸⁶ *Idem, Historia de los sucesos de Francia* (1598), prólogo. Philip III delayed the distribution of this book for two years so as not to alienate Henry IV in the wake of the Peace of Vervins, the treaty that ended hostilities between the two monarchies. See Morel-Fatio, 'El cronista Antonio de Herrera', pp. 55-57.

⁸⁷ The document, dated 12 Feb 1596, describing this book is printed in Vicente Maroto and Esteban Piñeiro, *Aspectos*, pp. 131-32.

⁸⁸ Titles include *Información en hecho y relación de lo que pasó a Milan* (1598); *Historia de la guerra entre Turcos y Persianos* (1588), which is a translation of a book previously published in Italian by Giovanni Tomasso Minadoy, and *Comentarios de las alteraciones de Flandes* (1600).

⁸⁹ See the recent edition by Cuesta Domingo.

Some writers, against the neutrality that history requires, have purposely obscured the piety, valour, and spiritual constancy that the Castilian nation has shown in the discovery, pacification, and settlement of so many and such new lands. They interpret these their deeds as cruelties in order to diminish their importance and overemphasise the evils done by a few, without ever attributing it to God's plan to punish the enormous sins of those people [the Indians]. and totally ignore the exemplary good done by the many.⁹⁰

Finally, it is worth noting that Herrera, in yet another gesture designed both to enhance and to preserve Philip II's historical reputation, suggested in 1599 – only a few months after Philip's death – that the deceased monarch needed a sobriquet in accordance with 'the style and use of other kings of Castile and León', in other words, a nickname such as 'the catholic', 'the chaste', 'the saintly', 'the great,' 'the wise'. In this instance, he recommended the following for Philip: 'the religious; the composed; the good; the prudent; the honest; the just; the devout; and the modest'. From this list someone – who it was, we are not really sure, but it seems most likely that it was the new king, Philip III – with a small arrow and the word '*ojo*' or 'look' – selected 'the prudent', that is, the most dignified of the human virtues, the sobriquet that Herrera used in his *Historia general* of 1601, and the one still popularly used to describe Philip II.⁹¹

Conclusion

As Soranzo, the Venetian ambassador cited at the outset of this essay, correctly observed, by the time of his death, Philip II did not have his own history, at the least in the narrow sense of a biography, or life. Yet owing to the efforts of Herrera and the other *cronistas del rey*, plans for a broader, general history of Philip's reign were well-underway. Furthermore, various portions of this history were already in print. What seems certain is that Philip, early in his reign, purposely distanced himself from his father's example of actively promoting 'the history of his deeds'. Except, therefore, for the creation of archives and libraries designed to preserve an official record of his reign, Philip did little to foster official history. As Soranzo did, it is possible to attribute this policy solely to modesty, but behind it there also lurked the idea of enhancing the dignity and authority of the Spanish monarchy by

⁹⁰ Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos*, dedicatory epistle to Felipe III.

⁹¹ Archivo Histórico Nacional: Consejos, Consultas de Gracia, leg. 116, fol. 101. The text of the consulta was originally published by C. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 3, pp. 380-381.

emphasising the grandeur of the royal *dignitas* as opposed to the more human and, theoretically, less than perfect aspects of the king himself.⁹²

But whatever the ultimate source of Philip's initial reservations about official history, his attitude towards the subject softened to the point that it gradually came to approximate that of his father, the Emperor. Yet by the mid-1580s, when Philip first warmed to his *cronistas*, it was already too late. His previous policy of doing little to encourage the writing of his own history left the field open to Orange, Pérez, and his other enemies, and allowed them to forge an image of Philip that served their own interests as opposed to the those of the king and the Spanish monarchy.⁹³ For this reason, it is somewhat ironic that Juan Pablo Forner, a noted eighteenth-century writer, looked back to the era of Philip II as a Golden Age of history. Writing in 1788, Forner observed that 'the reign of Philip II was the most glorious of our history because this monarch had a superb knack for appointing the best historians and also knew how to make certain that their skills would not be wasted'.⁹⁴ In making this assessment, what Forner did not recognise was Philip's own ambivalence about history, especially as it concerned the role – and the responsibilities – of the historians whom he appointed to the office of *cronista del rey*.⁹⁵

⁹² For more on Philip's reticence to make frequent public appearances, see Checa Cremades, *Felipe II*; Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism*, pp. 83-84, and my essay, 'Felipe II'.

⁹³ Henry Kamen (see note 3 above) makes a similar point, although it appears that he does not fully appreciate the extent of Philip's patronage of chroniclers and historians.

⁹⁴ Forner, 'Discurso sobre la historia de España', p. 65.

⁹⁵ An earlier version of this essay appeared in *Philippus II Rex* (Madrid, 1998).

THE SUN AND AURORA:
PHILIP IV OF SPAIN AND HIS QUEEN-CONSORT
IN ROYAL FESTIVAL AND SPECTACLE

Rina Walthaus

Ven, Señora, à quien adora
Filipe, Apolo español,
Que se alla sin vida el Sol,
Mientras no llega la Aurora.
Con tu venida mejora
Las luzes, que al Mundo invia;
I pues de las tuyas fia
Filipe sus arreboles,
Que mucho que con dos soles
Nos parezca grande el dia?¹

‘El reinado de Felipe IV, el poeta, se inauguraba entre el cadalso, el puñal, el veneno y la canonización de cuatro santos’ [‘The reign of Philip IV, the poet, started amid scaffold, the dagger, poison and the canonisation of four saints’]: in these terms the stormy events at the beginning of Philip IV’s reign as king of Spain are summarised by the nineteenth-century critic La Barrera y Leirado.² The prince was hardly sixteen years old when, in 1621, he succeeded his father, Philip III, whose reign had been characterised by political recession and *privanza* (the Duke of Lerma). The young prince inherited a kingdom harassed by serious problems and in a period of general crisis, when awareness of decline had considerably increased in Spain.³ However, notwithstanding the unfavourable national and international situation of the Spanish monarchy in 1621 – the truce with the Dutch, for in-

¹ *Noticia del recibimiento i entrada de la Reyna nvestra Señora*, pp. 77-78. Translation: ‘Come, Lady, whom Philip, the Spanish Apollo, adores, for the Sun feels itself without life, as long as Aurora does not appear. When you arrive, he improves the light he sends to the world; and since Philip entrusts the red of dawn to your light: is it strange that with two Suns, the day seems so great to us?’. See also note 37.

² Quoted in Castro and Rennert, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, p. 266.

³ See Elliott, ‘Self-perception’, pp. 41-61.

stance, came to an end in that same year and war was resumed – after the mourning for the death of Philip III, new hope could dawn in the heart of many a Spaniard: a new, young monarch was ascending the throne, with, beside him, a very attractive, seventeen-year-old queen, Isabella of Bourbon. Although the euphoria was not to last very long, there was room for some optimism in the first years of the 1620s. The premature death of Philip III, on the last day of March in 1621, generated a series of changes on the political chess-board in Madrid,⁴ that confirmed the sensation of renewal and of a clean sweep in government and society. The Duke of Lerma, who as a selfish and greedy minister of Philip III had held the reins of the Spanish government and treasury for twenty years, had lost his power in 1618, as a result of a palace intrigue led by his own son, the Duke of Uceda. Lerma had retired from the court, but the Duke of Uceda, who took his place, did not enjoy this triumph for long. With the new king, a new *privado* [‘favourite’] rose to power – the Andalusian aristocrat Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, Count of Olivares (and from 1625 Count-Duke of Olivares)⁵ – and now it was Uceda’s turn to be exiled. The most spectacular fall from power in this period was that of Rodrigo Calderón, the Marquis of Siete Iglesias. Once the powerful secretary of the chamber of Philip III and favourite of Lerma, Rodrigo Calderón had fallen from grace and was arrested in 1619. After a lawsuit lasting two years he was publicly beheaded on 21 October 1621, on the Plaza Mayor in Madrid, the setting for so many a spectacular show of power in those years. But it was not only the most powerful men who disappeared from the political scene. The very poorest, living on the margins of the Madrileñan society, were no less affected by other ‘cleaning’ measures, as can be read in a short account that praises the first steps taken by the new king in 1621, during the period of mourning he passed in the royal monastery of San Jerónimo in Madrid:

En los días que su Magestad estuuo en San Geronimo hizo cosas notables, como fue despachar vna cedula nombrando personas de satisfacion para que hiziessen junta con el Presidente de Castilla vna o dos vezes en la semana en que se tratase del remedio y destierro de los vicios y pecados destos Reynos, cosa tan del seruicio de Dios y prouechosa, qual se ha visto de lo que della ha resultado, pues en tan poco tiempo han desterrado de la

⁴ ‘The perception of decline gave powerful urgency to the movement for reform. During the last four years of the reign of Philip III this movement developed an irresistible momentum ...’. But it was not until 1621, with the advent of a new king and a new government, that Spain acquired a régime which, in its sense of urgency, seemed to match the mood of the times’ (Elliott, ‘Self-perception’, p. 58).

⁵ On the rise and fall of this famous favourite, see Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*.

*Corte mas de mil y seiscientas personas bagamundas y mal entretenidas, y cada dia van prendiendo mas, con que se han remediado y remedian muchas cosas, que eran muy contrarias al seruicio de nuestro Señor.*⁶

[During the days that his Majesty stayed in San Geronimo, he did noteworthy things such as promulgating a decree appointing persons to meet with the president of Castile once or twice a week in order to remedy and eradicate vices and sins from these kingdoms; this measure was to the service of God and as we have seen from the results it was most beneficial, for in short time they have banished from Madrid more than 1600 vagabonds and evil-doers, and every day they apprehend more; in this way they have already remedied and continue to remedy many things that were contrary to the service of our Lord].

These reforming measures taken by the new king at such a young age (although guided, of course, by the mature and sagacious Olivares) caused wonderment and admiration, and in the same account the teenage Philip IV is therefore compared with no less a model than king Solomon:

Tiene su Magestad, que Dios guarde, diez y seis años, y ha mostrado desde el primer punto ser otro Rey Salomon en las palabras y obras, pues empeçando a reynar de su misma edad, le imita en su sabiduria, con las mas discretas razones tan presto y a ocasion que se pudieran imaginar, y en las obras, empeçando por la justicia, virtud propia de los Reyes.

[‘His Majesty – may God preserve him – is sixteen years old and from the first moment has shown himself to be another King Solomon in his words and deeds, for, beginning his reign at the same age, he emulates him in wisdom, giving the most intelligent reasonings one can imagine quickly and to the point, and also in his works, starting with justice, the virtue appropriate to kings’].

The reform programme undertaken in the 1620s by the Olivares régime was another attempt to combat national decline and to purify manners and customs in Spain. If this series of astonishing changes created feelings of distrust and commotion among the people, there were, as a counterbalance, all kinds of festivities, both civil and religious, to console and to divert them. By means of these festivities the Habsburg power and the Catholic Church

⁶ *Relacion de la svntvosa entrada debaxo de palio en la villa de Madrid, del Rey nuestro Señor Don Felipe Quarto que Dios guarde* (Sevilla, 1621). I have used the copy of the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, sign. V/Ca.226 no. 13.

assiduously attempted to reinforce the mythification of themselves in a sumptuous display of splendour, in which the privileged élite exhibited their prominent status, and as a result of which the common people of Madrid could forget, at least for a few days, the hardship and misery of every day life by enjoying those moments of temporary illusion and pleasure. The seventeenth birthday of Philip IV, in 1622, was exuberantly celebrated in Aranjuez⁷ with two festival plays performed by the young queen and her ladies at the court: *La gloria de Niquea*, written by the Count of Villamediana and based on the chivalric romances *Amadís de Grecia* and *Florisel de Niquea*,⁸ and *El vellocino de oro* by Lope de Vega, a play about Jason, Medea and the Golden Fleece. Both chivalry and classical myth are used to praise the young Spanish king. However, a fire was the alarming end of a night of dazzling spectacle; the theatre illusion vanished into smoke, perhaps as an omen for what was to happen to the political dream. It was said that the Count of Villamediana himself had kindled the fire for romantic reasons⁹ and these rumours were perhaps fostered in retrospect by the fact that a few months later, in August 1622, this flamboyant courtier and poet, on his way home from the palace, was murdered in the streets of Madrid.¹⁰ The Plaza Mayor in Madrid, where Rodrigo Calderón had been executed in 1621, was in these years also the setting for other public festivities. The canonisation of four Spanish saints (Isidro – patron of Madrid – Teresa of Ávila, Ignacio de Loyola and Francisco Javier) implied lengthy religious celebrations. And when Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales and future king of England, came to Madrid in 1623 to negotiate personally his proposed mar-

⁷ The official chronicler Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza published a description in prose and verse of the festival: *Fiesta que se hizo en Aranjuez a los años del rey nuestro señor don Felipe III* (Madrid, 1623). This account was translated into English in 1654: *Fiestas de Aranjuez. Festivals represented at Aranwhez before the King and Queen of Spain to celebrate the Birth-Day of that King, Philip IV* (London, 1670). See Pedraza Jiménez, ed, *La gloria de Niquea* (prologue, p. vii).

⁸ *La gloria de Niquea* became very famous; it was a first 'comedia de invención', a theatre spectacle with a rich *mise en scène* combining poetry, music, dance, scenography and great visual effects; for the technical part of the production the Italian engineer Julio César Fontana was invited to the court. The cast of this première has come down to us and includes among the actresses queen Isabella (Goddess of Beauty), princess Maria of Austria (Niquea) and the daughter of Olivares (nymph). It has to be noted that women also performed the male roles; *Amadís de Grecia*, for instance, was interpreted by Doña Isabel of Aragon.

⁹ The real cause was much more trivial: sparks from the rich artificial illumination of wax torches and candles set fire to the scenery. Cf. Arróniz, *Teatros*, p. 200.

¹⁰ For further accounts of Villamediana and his court spectacle *La gloria de Niquea* see Rosales, *Pasión y muerte*; De Armas, 'Villamediana's *La gloria de Niquea*'; Chaves Montoya, *La Gloria de Niquea*; Miñana, 'Los márgenes'.

riage with Philip IV's sister Maria of Austria, he was honoured with a most splendid royal entry and a large series of other festivities.¹¹

So the panorama of the first years of Philip IV's reign is a most turbulent and conflictual one: execution, death and murder on the highest level of power, and, at the same time, magnificent court *fiestas* and public spectacle. These contrasts of sparkling light and obscure darkness would mark the political reality and private life of this Spanish king during the forty-five years of his reign (1621-1665), as in a first-class Baroque *chiaroscuro* painting. In spite of the increasing political and economic decline of the Spanish monarchy, the king and his *privado* [favourite] spent huge sums of money on art and spectacular shows. It is well known that the object of Philip IV's deep affections – besides women – were painting, literature and theatre; his cunning favourite, the Count-Duke of Olivares, did not fail to see here an appropriate instrument to divert and to control his king, while simultaneously demonstrating the political authority of the Spanish monarchy. The ruling élite all over western Europe saw in the arts a proper means to highlight status and power; however, Philip IV's personal interest in and love for the arts and literature is a factor that should not be overlooked.¹² The cultural policy during the reign of Philip IV is well known for its high investments in art:¹³ great sums were put into ambitious architectural projects and large-scale reconstructions (renovation of the Alcázar palace, construction of the Palace of the Buen Retiro), into rich art collections, especially of painting

¹¹ The Prince of Wales lived some five months in Madrid. The betrothal was celebrated in July 1623, but the difficult marriage negotiations collapsed after Charles returned to England. About the splendour of these festivities see also Morán Turina, “Gastamos un millón”.

¹² Rubens, who in 1628 passed several months at the court in Madrid, writes in one of his letters from Spain (Madrid, December 2, 1628): ‘Here I keep to painting, as I do everywhere, and already I have done the equestrian portrait of His Majesty, to his great pleasure and satisfaction. He really takes an extreme delight in painting, and in my opinion this prince is endowed with excellent qualities. I know him already by personal contact, for since I have rooms in the palace, he comes to see me almost every day’. Some four weeks later, in a letter to Jan Caspar Gevaerts, dated in Madrid, December 29 of the same year, Rubens indicates the political problem of the Spanish monarch: ‘The King alone arouses my sympathy. He is endowed by nature with all the gifts of body and spirit, for in my daily intercourse with him I have learned to know him thoroughly. And he would surely be capable of governing under any conditions, were it not that he mistrusts himself and defers too much to others. But now he has to pay for his own credulity and others’ folly, and feel the hatred that is not meant for him. Thus have the gods willed it’. (Saunders Magurn, ed, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, pp. 292 and 295).

¹³ About Philip IV's importance as patron and collector see Brown and Elliott, *A Palace*; Brown, *The Golden Age*; Morán and Checa, *El coleccionismo en España*; Orso, *Philip IV*; Brown, ed, *Velázquez, Rubens y Van Dyck*; Vergara, *Rubens*.

(in the famous Salón Nuevo or Salón de Espejos of the Alcázar, in the hunting lodge known as the Torre de la Parada,¹⁴ in the overwhelming Salón de Reinos of the Palace of the Buen Retiro), and into a most advanced court theatre, where Italian engineer-architects, such as Cosme Lotti and Baccio del Bianco, staged the most illusionist productions. In this large-scale campaign of awe-inspiring visual propaganda, it is clear that public festivals and celebrations also played their part. Festivities have an important function in any period and culture as rituals and as a binding factor for the community. At the same time they offer the producers ample occasion for image building and propaganda, and this is no less the case for princely culture in early modern times, where the manifestation and legitimation of power was a necessary concern. Without disregarding their ritual function,¹⁵ public festivities and celebrations – including the collective spectacle of the theatre performance – may be seen as a most important means of *Selbstdarstellung*, as a show in which the royal court intends to display its greatness, excellence and God-given power, in order to legitimise its privileged position.¹⁶ In Spain this kind of visual display of magnificence was very strong during the reign of Philip IV and was stimulated by the *privado* Olivares: ‘Like a skilled stage manager, Don Gaspar orchestrated to brilliant effect the court of the Planet King. Pageants, plays and literary disputations, tournaments and equestration sports, all helped to create the sense of a revitalised monarchy’.¹⁷ While the first years of Philip IV’s reign could cause some hope and optimism (with 1625 as the *annus mirabilis*), the rapid decline of the monarchy afterwards, especially in the 1640s (with, from 1640, rebellions in both Catalonia and Portugal, the defeat in the battle of Rocroi in 1643, the loss of the United Provinces in the Treaty of Münster in 1648) was a harsh reality. In these years the mature Philip IV, despite the opposition of his ministers, left the court occasionally to join his troops in Catalonia and Aragón. But even in such times of economic and political malaise, high expenses to assert status and power were considered an altogether jus-

¹⁴ ‘... the Torre de la Parada was a personal project of the king, in contrast to the public and carefully planned Buen Retiro, which had been largely directed by Olivares. In decorating the Torre, the king was concentrating on personal retreat where he could enjoy two of his favorite pastimes, art and hunting’ (Vergara, *Rubens and his Spanish Patrons*, p. 126).

¹⁵ The point of the primarily ritual function of the royal entry, for instance, was rightly stressed by Gordon Kipling (‘Were Royal Entries Propaganda?’).

¹⁶ As Tovar Martín puts it: ‘En una sociedad todavía fuertemente articulada como ordenación estamental, esos elementos efímeros se presentan como imágenes de la monarquía, de la Iglesia, como conceptos superiores, y han de ser mostrados a la muchedumbre en el lenguaje más persuasivo y brillante de la época’ (*El Barroco efímero*, p. 15).

¹⁷ Elliott, *The Count-Duke*, p. 178.

tified financial investment, because, as the political writer Diego Saavedra Fajardo states in his *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano* (1640):

*Lo suntuoso también de los palacios y su adorno ... el lustre y grandeza de la Corte y las demás ostentaciones públicas, acreditan el poder del príncipe y autorizan la majestad.*¹⁸

[The pomp of the palaces and their adornment ... the splendour and magnificence of the court and other public displays demonstrate the power of the prince and authorise his majesty.]

In this essay I explore a very specific element in this festive display of royal greatness: the image of the king and queen-consort as a couple, and the associated exploitation of the motifs of marriage and union. Beside Philip IV, called 'el Grande', 'el Sol' and 'Rey Planeta', stood a queen-consort, in the shadow of official power (her political role was limited as long as the king himself was present to exercise the royal tasks of government) but who – besides the possibility of exercising power through personal contacts and informal channels¹⁹ – appeared in the public light of official protocol during royal festivities and ceremonies. On such occasions the public and private side of the king's role came together. The presence of the queen-consort, and the theme of marriage itself, were used as an artistic and symbolic motif in the glorification of royal power. This cultural process forms the subject of the present study.

Philip IV's two marriages

Marriage *per se* constitutes an important moment in the human life cycle and, as such, is celebrated in all cultures as a rite of passage, essential for the perpetuation of the family and the community; ritual and ceremony serve to conjure up a prosperous and fertile future. Royal marriage is, moreover, a most important political event, arranged to secure the perpetuation of the royal dynasty – the queen's main role being that of royal childbearer – as well as to consolidate the power of the dynasty and the state, to corroborate peace and to strengthen political relationships with other nations. The political aims of royal wedlock are very clear in both the marriages of Philip IV. As a young boy of seven, he was given in marriage to the French princess Isabella of Bourbon, born in 1603 as daughter of Henry IV and

¹⁸ Saavedra Fajardo, *Empresas políticas*, p. 314.

¹⁹ An illuminating study of such informal female power in Spanish politics is Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen and the Nun*, investigating female power during the reign of Philip III (1598-1621) and his favourite, the Duke of Lerma.

Maria de' Medici. The betrothal was celebrated in 1612; the official union was in 1615.²⁰ Simultaneously, Philip's sister Anne of Austria was married off to Isabella's brother, the *dauphin* Louis XIII. This double wedlock was intended to consolidate the political relationships between Spain and France. In the twenty-nine years of their matrimonial life, Isabella bore Philip six daughters²¹ and, in 1629, a son, the crown prince Baltasar Carlos. If Isabella had any political aspirations, it was impossible to give them any reality since the Count-Duke of Olivares, fearing the intelligence of the queen and the influence she could have upon her less energetic husband, carefully kept her away from political life. Olivares's wife, Inés de Zúñiga y Velasco, held the important function of *camarera mayor* [mistress of the robes] to the queen and with this constant supervision Isabella's freedom of action could not be but very restricted. But in 1643 the Count-Duke, losing power, was forced to retire from politics. In that same year the king himself left the court to join his army in Aragon. During his absence Isabella assumed a successful regency; however, in 1644 the queen was taken ill and she died in October of that year.

Two years after the death of his first spouse, Philip suffered another tragic loss: the death of his only son, Baltasar Carlos, who died in the prime of his life at the age of seventeen. The unfortunate death of the crown prince meant the cancellation of his proposed marriage with his cousin, the Archduchess Mariana of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III of Habsburg and Philip's sister Maria. This union had been planned to ensure the power of the two Habsburg branches as a counterbalance against the growing political ascendancy of Louis XIV of France. But where a prince was lacking, the widowed father – by then in his forties – stepped in to take the place of the bridegroom and to marry his young niece Mariana, who, by then, was a teenager of thirteen. The betrothal by proxy took place in Vienna, on 8 November 1648. In 1649 the young queen arrived in Spain to join her husband in the palace of the Escorial. She would be Philip's consort until his death in 1665 and in these fifteen years of matrimonial union she gave him six children: three daughters (two of whom died soon after their birth) and three sons, of whom the first two, Felipe Próspero and Fernando, died at the age of four, and the third, Charles, survived and succeeded his father as the last and weakest offspring of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty. When Philip IV died in 1665, the prince was still a child and so his mother, the widowed queen Mariana, assumed regency until Charles had reached the age of fourteen.

²⁰ Because the couple were still very young, they lived some years in separation; the consummation of the marriage took place in 1620.

²¹ Five of the six daughters died very young; only María Teresa, born in 1637, survived infancy and eventually became the wife of Louis XIV of France.

The present essay explores how the motifs of royal marriage and union, and the presence of a queen-consort, who was otherwise used to remaining in the background, are exploited in public festival and spectacle as another element in the exaltation of royal power; in doing this, I analyse what kinds of imagery and symbolic devices were involved and what they intended to propagate. The classical Parnassus and the ancient heroes were, of course, a favourite frame of reference. Philip was called a Jupiter, Apollo, Mercury, Hercules; the queen was associated with Bellona, Juno, Venus, Minerva. Biblical equation (like that of Philip IV and Solomon cited in the beginning of this essay), as well as cosmic or zodiacal exaltations, were also important means of glorifying the monarchs. One of Philip's glorious surnames was 'Quarto Planeta', the Fourth Planet, which, according to the Ptolemaic scheme of the universe, meant Apollo, the Sun.²² *Illuminat et fovet* [he shines and warms] was a motto used by Philip IV.²³ The number four in Philip's name was not only suited for such cosmic deification of the king, but also lent itself for further symbolic expansion, since it could be associated with the four elements, the four cardinal virtues, the four seasons, the four continents on earth – all elements frequently represented in these celebrations.²⁴ In connection with this numerical glorification it is worthy of note that, at the time of the marriage of Philip IV with Mariana of Austria, a book entitled *Excelencias de los nombres de Philipo, y de Maria-Anna, y del numero Quarto, por serlo V. Magestad de su nombre* was written by Juan Alonso Calderón.²⁵ As for the queen-consort, her illustrious origins as descendant of the Bourbon or the Austria lineage were highly praised, but it

²² According to Montaner ('The Last Tribute', p. 172) the fourth planet means Mars: 'Philip IV was ... likened to the fourth planet Mars', but this 'modern' view of the planets is not correct here. For the Spanish poets the 'fourth planet' was still the sun; evidence for this can be found in one of the emblems on Isabella's catafalque cited by Montaner herself (p. 192): 'la reina que en ausencia de su cuarto planeta y sol de España Felipe'. Likewise, the *Noticia del recibimiento* describes the sun as a 'galan Apolo, de largos cabellos, por la fuerza de los rayos con que penetra desde el quarto cielo hasta el centro de la tierra ...' (p. 35).

²³ Elliott, *The Count-Duke*, p. 178.

²⁴ For instance, the funeral monument by which the University of Valladolid commemorated the death of Isabella of Bourbon presented on the four sides four figures representing Spain, the House of Austria, France and the University itself. Moreover, *En la frente de siete pies de altura que tenia el tablado se pintaron las quatro partes del mundo acompañadas de escudos de armas. En el segundo quatro virtudes de las muchas que resplandecieron en la difunta ... A quatro religiones de las que son Colegios incorporados en la Vniversidad se encomendaron quatro altares en los quatro angulos del patio que adornaron con toda magestad (Exequias fverales, fols. 9^r-10^r).*

²⁵ For further details of this book and the author Juan Alonso Calderón, see Varey and Salazar, 'Calderón', pp. 14-18.

was through her marriage with the Spanish 'Sun' Philip IV that she reached the apotheosis of light. She was Aurora.²⁶ Particularly appropriate here was the famous myth of the eagle that flies to the sun and can look at this planet without being blinded by the dazzling light. Not only was Mariana, whose Habsburg family used the imperial eagle in their coat of arms, called the royal eagle that reached the sun (*Ya el ave inperial su vuelo, / Tan alto remontar pudo, / Que pudo llegar à vista / D'el Quarto Planeta Augusto*)²⁷ ['The imperial bird could yet fly so high that it attained to the sight of the August Fourth Planet'], but also Philip's first spouse, Isabella of Bourbon, was hailed as the high-flying eagle:

*Nacio de la Christianissima sangre real de Francia el Aguila Reyna que han perdido los españoles y no hallarán en muchos siglos; y tanto se remontó en el buelo, que llegó a beber de los rayos del Sol de Nuestro Rey Philipo el Grande ... En todo consiguio la eminencia esta Aguila racional, hasta la region de España dio el buelo, y entre tan superiores astros fue su trono al lado del Sol de quien todos reciben luz.*²⁸

[The Eagle Queen, whom the Spanish people have lost and will not find for many ages was born of the most Christian, royal blood of France, and she soared so high that she was able to drink from the rays of the Sun of our King Philip the Great ... This rational Eagle reached eminence in everything; she flew to the region of Spain, and among such superior stars she possessed her throne beside the Sun from whom we all receive light].

Another rich mine of imagery to be exploited was that of the heraldic and emblematic traditions. In the following paragraphs I demonstrate in more detail how these different motifs, symbols and traditions mingle in official celebration and spectacle in order to convey a most magnificent image of the king and queen as a powerful couple.

²⁶ Cf. *pues nuestra Reyna y Señora [Isabella of Bourbon], con auer nacido de mejor Aurora de la Christianissima de Francia, gozando mejores lucimientos al abrigo del mayor planeta, de Nuestro Philipo llamado por antonomasia el Grande (Elogio panegirico, fol. 7^r. I have used the copy of the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, sign. VE/151/13). For Mariana as Aurora see the stanza quoted at the opening of this article.*

²⁷ *Noticia del recibimiento*, p. 111.

²⁸ *Elogio panegirico*, fols. 10^v-11^r.

Public festivity and spectacle: the corpus

In order to obtain a wider view of our subject I refer to texts of different sorts in which the king and queen as a couple are central. I shall consider, on the one hand, some printed accounts that report (a) about the festivities on the occasion of Philip IV's two weddings, first with the French princess and later with his Austrian niece, and (b) about the official exequies for the death of Isabella of Bourbon in 1644.²⁹ On the other hand, the present corpus further includes two *autos sacramentales*, religious plays written by Calderón de la Barca (the playwright who wrote so much for Philip IV)³⁰ and destined to be performed during the celebration of *Corpus Christi*; in both plays the king and queen as married couple play a dominant role.

It may seem odd to incorporate royal funeral rites and exequies among public festivities, but it must be kept in mind that this kind of celebration – in Spanish texts of this period designed as *honras*, *solemnidades*, *pompa*, *exequias* – implied a ceremonial display of pomp in the service of power that was very similar to other, more joyous festivities and pageantry such as the royal entry. The funerary ceremonies to commemorate the death of a royal person not only comprised the burial, with masses for the salvation of the soul of the deceased; some weeks (or even months) after the entombment, the solemn celebration of the exequies took place, offering a most impressive spectacle of ephemeral art, comparable to the impact of the royal entry. Since the deaths of Charles V and Philip II, the royal tomb had become increasingly solemn and ostentatious, resulting in the breathtaking architectural constructions called *catafalco*, *túmulo*, *pira*, *mausoleo* or *máquina*, monuments that reflect the seventeenth-century Spanish Baroque vogue of pomp and emblematic symbolism.³¹

²⁹ Because the death of Mariana (1696) fell in the reign of Charles II, the funeral honours to her memory are beyond the immediate scope of the present study, which concentrates on princely culture during the reign of Philip IV.

³⁰ In 1635 Calderón was appointed director of the court performances. On Calderón as court dramatist, see Díez Borque, 'Palacio del Buen Retiro'.

³¹ 'La plegaria por los muertos, proclamada en el Concilio de Trento, había incrementado el interés por una liturgia fúnebre. La gigantesca fábrica, el gran catafalco, con el féretro a título de símbolo y de figuración, fingiendo mármoles y bronce, se convertía en la gran realización alegórica para honrar la memoria del rey. La ceremonia fúnebre nada tiene que ver con la estatuaría funeraria de la época. Se convertía en una experiencia más de elogio, de pompa y de alabanza hacia el difunto. La decoración entera no fue sino un canto heroico y patético hacia su persona' (Tovar Martín, *El barroco efímero*, p. 19). See also Gállego, 'Aspectos emblemáticos'; *idem*, *Visión y símbolos*, where chapter IV studies ceremony and festival; Orso, *Art and Death*; Soto Caba, *Los catafalcos reales*.

Although made of ephemeral materials such as canvas, cardboard, wood, plaster and stucco, these catafalques were painted in such a way that they seemed to be of stone or marble; they were embellished with painted and sculpted adornments, allegories, coats of arms, emblems or 'hieroglyphs',³² and poems written in Latin, Greek and Spanish. Thousands of candles were mounted and the church interior was adorned with funeral hangings and other decorations. With their rich pomp and their complex decoration plans, these temporary decorations were another occasion for propagandistic display and glorification symbolising a real political and dynastical 'triumph'. The vertical height of the catafalque stressed the excellence of the deceased: *tanto mas altas deuen leuantarse las funerales vrnas, quanto mayores fueron las excelencias de la persona, cuyas cenizas guardan*.³³ These funeral ceremonies can thus be seen as a kind of official 'royal exit' comparable to the royal entry. Neither festivity nor joy is lacking: grief (for the loss suffered on earth) and joy (for the glory that the deceased will attain in heaven), mourning and triumph mingle in an 'equivocation of affections', as is explicitly stated, for instance, in the *relación* that describes the funerary honours for Isabella of Bourbon celebrated at the university of Salamanca (1644), where the author reports:

*... en cuyo patio amanecio la mas hermosa y aliñada maquina que han uisto las edades, vn tumulo tan auisadamente cuerdo, que hermanando lo luctuoso y lo festiuo, en fe de la pena que la Vniversidad tenia, y de la gloria que la Reyna N.S. gozaua, compuestamente vnidas dio encarecidas muestras de llanto, y de alegria, pareciendo que con misteriosa equiuocacion de afectos aduertia que lo que era funebre pompa en nuestro sentimiento, era aparato triunfal en su descanso ...*³⁴

[... in the inner courtyard there appeared the most beautiful and highly decorated apparatus which history has ever countenanced, a catafalque so judiciously constructed that it conjoined mourning and festivity in virtue of the sorrow felt by the university and the glory enjoyed by the Queen, our

³² As for the seventeenth-century liking for this kind of intellectual puzzles, Orso remarks that 'it is telling that in the official accounts of royal exequies published by the Habsburg court, hieroglyphs are described and illustrated, but not explained. Instead, the intellectual pleasure of the task is left to the reader' (*Art and Death*, p. 36).

³³ *Relacion de la fvneral pompa*, fol. 9^v. See also note 40.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, fol. 9^r. A similar mixture of sentiments is offered by the *Elogio panegirico* that opens by describing the great sorrow and mourning that reigns in Spain and in the world, and that ends by presenting Spain as *Feliz patria* where Isabella, buried, has found complete rest.

Lady; and it gave combined evidence of grief and joy which, in a mysterious paradox of emotions, seemed to point out that what was funeral pomp for our own sentiments was, too, a triumphal device for her final rest ...]

Although in our present era we may have a very different appreciation of the ephemeral art-objects (triumphal arches, triumphal chariots, funerary monuments) so frequently a feature of seventeenth-century Baroque ceremonial, we have to bear in mind that for contemporary artists the commission to create such occasional art works was a most honourable and important one. The painter and art theorist Francisco de Pacheco, for instance, points to the fame an artist can gain by such creations,³⁵ and a famous court architect like Juan Gómez de Mora, who in his senior function of ‘Maestro Mayor de las Reales Obras’ designed the modernisation of the Alcázar and of the Plaza Mayor, the church of the convent of Encarnación and the Cárcel de Cortes, did not think it beneath his dignity to design the temporary catafalque for Isabella of Bourbon erected in the royal monastery of San Jerónimo in Madrid. Another point worth noting is that, besides the glorification of the king or queen in these spectacles and festivals, the self-representation of the organising institution (municipality, monastery, university) could be rather prominent, thereby stressing its own importance. The catafalque for Isabella at the University of Valladolid, for instance, shows on its four sides four enormous female figures as allegories of Spain, the House of Austria, France and, last but not least, the University itself.³⁶

For information about the official festivals and celebrations, including the occasional artistic constructions made for them, we must rely on contemporary written accounts, *relaciones* and *noticias*, that have come down to us, as fixed and more lasting testimonies of otherwise ephemeral happenings. These texts offer another interesting aspect: alongside the ceremony itself and the temporary art-objects involved, the printed official accounts could serve as a third instrument of propaganda. Beautifully elaborated, they were the seventeenth-century equivalent of modern public-relations

³⁵ ‘... (según dice un autor italiano) ... como en arcos triunfales, fiestas, túmulos o cosas deste género, que suelen de improviso ordenar las repúblicas, en recebimientos, y muertes de grandes Principes y Monarcas; con cuya solicitud, presteza y aplauso del pueblo, se suele adquirir fama de valientes pintores y ganar honrados premios’ (Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura*, p. 273).

³⁶ Cf. note 24. Sometimes the producers manifest dissatisfaction about the publicity given to their own role, as seems to have been the case with the official report on the royal entry of Mariana of Austria in Madrid – a text analysed below in more detail – with which the municipality of Madrid was not so happy because *faltan algunas cosas principales ... y combiene aya noticia muy por menor de las demostraciones que esta Villa hizo* (letter of the municipality of Madrid cited in Varey and Salazar, ‘Calderón’, (pp. 18-19).

material, destined for the *grandees* and foreign ambassadors who had attended the original ceremony, and designed to be sent abroad to impress the readers at foreign courts. The accounts made for such PR purposes were luxury books, printed on excellent paper and bound in parchment. A good example is the *Noticia del recibimiento i entrada de la Reyna nvestra Señora Doña Maria-Ana de Avstria en la muy noble i leal coronada Villa de Madrid* (s.l., 1650), printed in folio format (and containing 118 numbered pages);³⁷ a royal decree issued by the king in 1650 ordered that no book on the entry other than this one should be published.³⁸ The royal exequies could also yield handsome documentary records, such as the *Pompa fvneral, honras y exequias en la muerte de la muy alta y catolica Señora Doña Isabel de Borbon, Reyna de las Españas y del Nuevo Mundo, que se celebraron en el Real Convento de S. Gerónimo de la villa de Madrid* (Madrid, 1645), a book about the funeral tribute for Isabella of Bourbon celebrated in the royal monastery of San Jerónimo in Madrid, printed by order of the king. It numbers 171 folios and includes various engravings, some of which can be unfolded.³⁹ The universities of Valladolid and Salamanca also received an order from Philip IV to stage exequies in memory of the deceased queen. The accounts of these happenings, entitled *Exeqvias fvnerales que celebros la myv insigne, y real Vniversidad de Valladolid a la memoria de la serenissima Reyna N.S. Doña Ysabel de Borbon* (85 fols.) and the *Relacion de la fvnral pompa en las honras que hizo la muy insigne Vniversidad de Salamanca ...a la buena memoria, y Magestad de la Reyna N.S. Isabel de Borbon* (114 fols),⁴⁰ are of a less luxurious material quality, but still constitute respectable books. Here the learned tradition is more noteworthy, with their ample references to the *auctores* and with some parts of the text written in Latin. These editions spring from an academic background and display the intellectual importance and power of the institution honoured by the commemorative events.

Bearing in mind these qualities and circumstances of the corpus, we shall now explore in greater detail how the union of king and queen-consort, and the motif of marriage, was exploited in such festive exaltations of political power.

³⁷ I have used the copies of the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, sign. R 4308 and 2/61823.

³⁸ Varey and Salazar, 'Calderón', p. 19.

³⁹ I have used the copies of the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, sign. R 3035 and R 16513.

⁴⁰ I have used the copies of the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, sign. U 1464 and 3/60263 respectively. Both accounts include the letter in which the king orders a funeral tribute for Isabella of Bourbon.

Philip IV and Isabella of Bourbon

When in 1615, Philip IV married his first wife, Isabella of Bourbon, he was still a very young prince of only ten years; the wedding ceremony by proxy was in Bordeaux. The bride was twelve years old, but although a child, nevertheless represented a powerful dynasty. More than her body, it was her garments that displayed her status. Clothes are, of course, an important instrument in highlighting status, and the bridal gown of Isabella was an exhibition of the splendour and power of the French royal family. A short *relación*⁴¹ of the wedding ceremony at Bordeaux describes the extremely elegant and expensive bridal gown of the French princess, with a train of more than twenty metres, entirely lined with ermine. The bridal gown, crown, seats and cushions abounded in the favourite symbol of the Bourbons, the lily. The dress and a scarf worn by the princess were covered with *fleurs de lys*, while the crown on her head showed a lion holding a *fleur de lys*. The two dynasties united in wedlock were thus visualised by their respective heraldic devices: the *fleur de lys* representing France and the castle and lion representing Spain (Castile and León). The author of the account stresses the visualisation used to symbolise the transfer of the princess from her French Bourbon origins into the bosom of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty: *Y es de advertir que desde el punto que la Princesa nuestra señora fue desposada, como se refiere arriba, no le pusieron mas almoadas moradas con flor de Lis, ni silla, sino sillas y almoadas, o de brocado carmesi muy rico, o de terciopelo carmesi, bordado con Leones*. [‘And it must be noted that from the very moment the princess was married, as related above, they no longer gave her purple cushions or chairs with *fleurs de lys*, but chairs and cushions made of most rich red brocade or red velvet, embroidered with lions’].⁴²

The alliance of the Spanish Habsburgs with the French Bourbons was frequently symbolised, in this and other celebrations, as a union of the lion and the lily (*fleur de lys*), alluding to their respective arms. Castle, lion and lily also appeared repeatedly in the funeral tributes, in 1644, for Isabella of Bourbon, by then queen of Spain. Isabella died on 6 October, and after her entombment in El Escorial, her death was commemorated with impressive funeral honours in several other places. Most prestigious exequies were staged in the royal monastery of San Jerónimo⁴³ in Madrid on 17 and 18

⁴¹ *Segunda relacion de los casamientos del Príncipe de las Españas*. I have used the copy of the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, sign. V/Ca.250 no. 78.

⁴² *Ibidem*, fol. 2^r.

⁴³ The church of San Jerónimo was the site where the court used to celebrate royal exequies for kings, queens and *príncipes jurados*. It was also the place where the

November, at the University of Valladolid on 26 and 27 November, and at the University of Salamanca on 21 December. Besides the enormous dimensions (over twenty metres in height) of the catafalque and its abundant decoration, it was the illumination that made a spectacular visual effect: thousands of candles, artistically mounted, were like 'bouquets of fire' and 'pyramids of light'.⁴⁴ At the entrance to the church of San Jerónimo sat Hispania, as a Pallas in mourning; a ceiling painting above the catafalque showed, in a circle, the words *Elisabeth Regina*, the letters of which formed the initials of a series of virtues that, like the rays of the sun, radiated from the circle. Several painted emblems or hieroglyphs of these funeral monuments exploited the lily motif in the context of the union of king and queen as consorts, supporting it with other symbolical allusions. An emblem at the Salamanca catafalque for Isabella, for instance, connected *fleur de lys*, eagle and castle with classical myth (Juno and Jupiter as consorts):

*... vna aguila real (aue y ministro conocido de Iupiter) sobre vn castillo (armas de nuestro Rey y de sus Reynos) con vna flor de lis en el pico, simbolo de la Reyna N.S. y de su real casa de Francia y en la antiguedad flor consagrada a Iuno consorte de Iupiter, y a todas estas luzes Aguila, flor de lis y castillo, sombras no oscuras de la vnion conjugal destas dos Magestades.*⁴⁵

[... a royal eagle (a bird and well-known minister of Jupiter) on a castle (the coat of arms of our King and his kingdoms) with a fleur-de-lys in its beak, a symbol of our Lady, the Queen, and her royal family of France, and in Antiquity the flower consecrated to Juno, the consort of Jupiter; and in all this light, the eagle, the fleur-de-lys and the castle were clear shadows of the conjugal union of these two majesties.]

A hieroglyph on the catafalque of San Jerónimo showed the king, armed, with above him a crown of lilies; the motto was a verse from Proverbs (12:4) *Mulier diligens corona est viro suo* and the Spanish subscription explained: *El mejor lirio francés / Diò à Filipino el gran tesoro: / Primero de granos de oro / y de vitorias despues.* [The best French lily gave to Philip

Spanish Habsburg princes, from Philip II onward, usually received the traditional oath of loyalty of the Crown of Castile (Orso, *Art and Death*, pp. 16-17).

⁴⁴ *ramilletes de fuego; piramides de resplandor (Pompa fyneral, fol. 22^v).*

⁴⁵ In another one *se dibujò vna flor de lis, y sobre su copa vn corazon coronado: retrato este del Rey N.S. como la flor de aquella lis real, de cuyo amor y zelo fiò su corazon su Esposo y el peso de sus mayores cuidados (Relacion de la fyneral pompa, fol. 31^v).*

the great treasure of golden grains, first, and of victories, afterwards].⁴⁶ Another hieroglyph took up the lily motif from the Song of Songs (2:16 and 6:2): *Pintòse un Cordero paciendo açucenas, i en el ayre una Flordelis: i la letra latina 'Qui pascitur inter lilia'* [There was painted a Lamb that grazed lilies, and in the air a *fleur de lys*, and the Latin text *Qui pascitur inter lilia*].⁴⁷ The biblical motto *Pascitur inter lilia* was also used in an emblem on the catafalque for Isabella at the University of Salamanca, where the queen as royal lily benefited her people.⁴⁸ The simile *sicut lilium inter spinas*, applied to the bride of the Song of Songs (2:2), inspired another emblem for Isabella on the Salamanca catafalque, symbolising the innocent purity of the queen among the thistles and wordly dangers of majesty.⁴⁹ Another hieroglyph here presented a crowned lion, a *fleur de lys* coming out of his mouth and a swarm of bees sucking the lily, interpreting this *pictura* as the union of strength and sweetness, with the resulting fruits of peace enjoyed by the people.⁵⁰ Again a bible text supported and expanded the symbolism:

*Lilia dant apes, Hispani ex ore Leonis,
De forti dulcem pacis ubique fauum.
At pacem franco violanti, Lilia fortis
Reddet amar a Leo, spicula figet apis.*

The motto *De forti dulcedo* is a quotation from Judges 14:14: *Et de forti egressa est dulcedo*; this enigma, posed by Samson to the Philistines, could also be found in the *Empresas políticas* (no. 99) by Saavedra Fajardo, a much read book of emblems published four years earlier. Here the *pictura* (a defeated lion with a swarm of bees around his mouth, see fig. 4) is explained as follows:

⁴⁶ *Pompa fvnereal*, fol. 23^f.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ *Relacion de la fvnereal pompa*, fol. 32^v.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, fol. 31^v.

⁵⁰ *Acompañaaua esta pintura o historia vn hieroglyphico, en que se pintaua vn Leon coronado (armas de nuestro Rey y de sus Reynos), salia de la boca del Leon vn Lirio, ò flor de lis (blason de la Corona de Francia y de sus Reyes) y parecia estaua liuando el Lirio vn enjambre de Auejas, simbolo de la vnion y dulces frutos de la paz, que mediante la fortaleza de aquel Leon y dulce agrado desta flor de lis, amablemente vnidas, gozaron algun tiempo los Vasallos de ambas coronas. Era la letra deste hieroglyphico la del enigma que Sanson propuso a la juuentud de Palestina, sobre el caso del panal, hallado en la boca del Leon, 'De forti dylcedo' (*ibidem*, fol. 21^{f-v}).*

*En ella se declara aquel enigma de Sansón del león vencido, en cuya boca, después de muerto, hacían panales las abejas; porque, acabada la guerra, abre la paz el paso al comercio, toma en la mano el arado, exercita las artes. De donde resulta la abundancia, y della las riquezas, las cuales, perdido el temor que las había retirado, andan en las manos de todos.*⁵¹

[Here Samson's riddle of the defeated lion is thus explained. When the Lion was dead, bees made honeycombs in his mouth: when war is over, peace opens the way to trade, it puts its hand to the plough, and it practises the arts. From this comes forth abundance and from abundance wealth, which – when the fear that once constrained it has been drawn back – will reach everyone.]

These few examples illustrate, besides the importance of heraldic motifs themselves, the rich biblical associations connected with them. The *fleur de lys* can also be associated with the iris, God's token and symbol of His covenant with humankind, and thus visualise the promise and hope Isabella signified for her people: *nuestra Iris, y Lirio Real* [our Iris, and royal Lily].⁵² Another suggestive image appeared on the catafalque in San Jerónimo,⁵³ where the *fleur de lys* motif appeared combined with some reminiscences from the iconography of the Immaculate Virgin, so revered in Counter-Reformation Spain, who, in accordance with the Apocalyptic woman described by John in Revelation (12:1), was usually depicted crowned with twelve stars and standing on a half-moon.

At the end of her life Isabella emerged more as a political figure in her own right, and her active role in politics during the brief period of her successful regency⁵⁴ is another motif for her praise. A painting on the catafalque in San Jerónimo associated the *fleur de lys* with Divine Wisdom, tak-

⁵¹ Saavedra Fajardo, *Empresas políticas*, p. 901.

⁵² *Relacion de la fyneral pompa*, fol. 23^v.

⁵³ *En el vltimo [hieroglyph] estaua vna muger bestida de monja de santa Clara puesta en pie sobre vn Mundo lleno de Estrellas, y en la mano derecha vna Flor de Lis, y encima vna corona, mirando al Cielo, como eleuada, y en un campo berde con muchas rosas ... Y abaxo: 'Estrellas pisan por flores, / En el celestial Paris, / Y entre tantos esplendores, / Brilla en luzes superiores, / Vna hermosa Flor de Lis (Relacion de las Honras, fol. 2^v. Described also in *Pompa fyneral*, fol. 19^f).*

⁵⁴ '... During her months of regency, Elizabeth of Bourbon ... emerged from the shadows to which court protocol normally confined queens of Spain, and revealed qualities of energy and determination which impressed her advisers, and turned her overnight into a popular heroine' (Elliott, *The Count-Duke*, p. 640). See also Stradling, *Philip IV*, pp. 240-241 and 337-338.

ing as motto a verse from Proverbs (8:15): *Per me Reges regnant*.⁵⁵ The association with the other legendary Isabella of Spanish history was easily made and appeared in another *pictura*, where the Columns of Hercules were painted twice, each with 'F' and 'I' above them, alluding in the first case (*Non plus ultra*) to Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile and in the second (*Plus Ultra*) to Philip IV and Isabella of Bourbon; the biblical motto here was *Qui erant super capita columnarum*.⁵⁶ In one of the poems for the exequies at the University of Valladolid Isabella was compared to the famous strong women from the classical and biblical past: she surpassed the classical Semiramis and Artemisia; she equalled the biblical Esther, Judith, Jael and Deborah.⁵⁷ The Salamanca catafalque visualised the conjugal cooperation of king and queen during Philip's absence and Isabella's regency, with the image of palm and laurel inclined one to another.⁵⁸ Isabella's temporary regency was hailed and she appeared depicted with her ministers, giving orders and instructions: *Ornant arma togas, linguaque laureas / Vtrasque Elisabeth dum regit inclyta*; she equalled Solomon and was even compared with Christ: *midiendo su amor a los vasallos con el de Christo, viuo exemplar a sus virtudes Reales* [measuring her love to her vassals with that of Christ, the lively example for her royal virtues].⁵⁹

The theatre spectacle offers more opportunities for further and deeper detail, as the genre presents the development of a dramatic action and dialogue. It is in Calderón's sacramental play *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* that the union of Philip IV and Isabella of Bourbon as married couple is further exploited.

Calderón's El nuevo palacio del Retiro

*El nuevo palacio del Retiro*⁶⁰ was written for the Corpus Christi festivities of June, 1634. It is a sacramental play [*auto sacramental*] that, in accordance with the religious purpose of the genre, celebrates the mystery of the Sacrament of the Eucharist and does so by means of allegory; the characters are the King, the Queen, Man, the five senses, Judaism, Faith, Hope and Charity. The dramatic action presents the history of the redemption of man-

⁵⁵ *Pintòse la Sabiduria divina con un libro en la mano, i sobre el una Flordelis i por letra latina 'Per me Reges regnant'* (Proverb., 8,15). *Por la Castellana: Leyendo libros sagrados / Fve su temporal gobierno / Inspirado del eterno* (Pompa fvneral, fol. 25^r).

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, fol. 26^r.

⁵⁷ *Exequias fvnerales*, fols. 21^r-22^v.

⁵⁸ *Relacion de la fvneral pompa*, fol. 26^{r-v}.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, fols. 23^v, 32^r and 53^r.

⁶⁰ Cf. Paterson, ed, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*.

kind, from Natural and Written Law to the Law of Grace. At the same time, however, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* is a drama-à-clef, taking as its subject matter the construction and inauguration of the Palace of Buen Retiro in Madrid and presenting the ceremonies and festivities of the inauguration of the palace, which had occurred in December of the previous year. Thus, the protagonists, though allegorical/generic, are explicitly or implicitly associated with real life persons from the highest level of political power: king Philip IV, queen Isabella of Bourbon and the *privado* of those years, the Count-Duke of Olivares. So there is, simultaneously, a sacred and a secular level, with, correspondingly, a Catholic and a political symbolism. The exegesis of this double-level allegory is given in the dramatic text itself, explained by the characters or recorded by song and music. In the first scene, where Judaism (as Wandering Jew) resumes his life under Natural Law and Written Law and expresses his admiration for the new building he sees on a place that was a desert before, Man (Hombre) describes this new royal palace as the Celestial City and the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse (21) and explains:

*Para su divina esposa,
que es de la Gracia la Ley,
con quien ya está desposado,
la mandó labrar el Rey* (pp. 104-105)

[The King ordered it built
for his divine wife,
who is the Law of Grace,
to whom he is married].

The King and the Queen, who inaugurate and enter this new palace, represent Christ and the Church.⁶¹ At the same time, however, the King is explicitly associated with Philip IV, an identification established and justified by etymology (*Philipo – domador de fieras*⁶²) and wordplay (*austro / Austria*=Habsburg; *Fe*=Faith as the root of *Felipe*=Philip).⁶³ Representing thus

⁶¹ “que en el esposo y la esposa / no hay duda quién puedan ser, / pues que son Cristo y la Iglesia, / y son la Reina y el Rey”, p. 107.

⁶² This etymological explanation of the name Philip is given both in *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* and in *La segunda esposa y triunfar muriendo* (although etymologically ‘Philip’ means ‘lover of horses’).

⁶³ *El Rey, cuyo grande nombre, / coronado de laurel, / en griego, por generoso / domador de fieras, fue / Philipo, díganlo cuantas / han registrado a sus pies / lo pintado de la pluma, / lo manchado de la piel; / Rey que del austro nos vino, / de la*

Philip IV, the King is associated with the fourth planet, the Sun, and Man finally explains that this King is *Felipe, Austral y Cuarto*, y [...] *galán de la Fe* [Philip, Austral, and Fourth, and [...] cavalier of Faith] (p. 106). The Queen, representing simultaneously the Church and the Law of Grace, is explicitly identified with Elisabeth / Isabella, and her Bourbon dynasty is revealed by the allusion to the heraldic lilies:

*y juramento de Dios
significa Elisabeth,
Elisabeth es su nombre.
Si cristianísima es,
díganlo las tres Virtudes
teologales de los tres
lirios de sus armas; mira
si en ella convienen bien
lirios por armas, y el nombre
de cristiana y de Isabel.* (pp. 106-7)

[and Elisabeth means
'Oath of God';
Elisabeth is her name.
If she be most Christian,
let the three theological virtues
of the three lilies
of her arms say so;
see how well the lilies,
the name 'Christian',
and that of Isabella suit her.]

In the same way, the new Palace described before as the Celestial City and the New Jerusalem is, on the secular level, the new palace of Philip and Isabella, the Buen Retiro.

In this allegory, Christian and secular-political symbolism flow together. It is the characters in the play who give the exegesis of the text, explaining to the audience how to interpret the allegorical elements and characters. In addition, the music and song that accompany the entry into the new palace also help the audience to keep the lesson in mind: *Abrid las puertas, abrid / a vuestros príncipes, pues / la Reina es la Ley de Gracia, / y el Sol de Justicia el Rey* [Open the doors to your kings, for the Queen is the

Fe amante tan fiel / que está incluido en su nombre / el de su dama también, / pues ninguno pronunció / Felipe, sin decir Fe (p. 105).

Law of Grace and the King is the Sun of Justice.] (p. 116). Less explicit is the real-life equivalent of Man (Hombre). However, as God's privileged being in Creation, His *valido* and *privado* [favourite], Man can easily be identified, at the political level, as Philip's favourite Olivares,⁶⁴ the man who, in December 1633, had handed the keys of the Retiro palace to his monarch. However, the equivalence Man = *privado* = Olivares is not without certain risk, as Man and *privado* both imply the threat of a fall: the biblical Fall of Mankind and, at the political level (especially since Lerma and Rodrigo Calderón) the almost inevitable fall of the *privado*, a theme that had become so familiar in political reality and in the contemporary dramas *de privanza* [dramas of favouritism].⁶⁵ This could be taken as an offence to Olivares, but Calderón anticipates such doubtful interpretations ingeniously.

This two-fold allegory – representing the history of the Redemption of mankind by Christ's (here the King's) Incarnation, His Crucifixion, the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the Law of Grace (here the Queen), and referring simultaneously to the civil and political actuality of the construction and inauguration of the Retiro palace – is basic and set forth in the rest of the play, supported by further biblical symbolism and typological interpretations of the Old Covenant in the light of the new Law of Grace.⁶⁶ No less obvious are the references to seventeenth-century political reality, such as the close bond between the King and his *privado*, the protocol of the council meetings, the allusions to the war and the political enemies of Spain and the ceremonies and tournaments organised for the inauguration of the Palace of the Buen Retiro.

In this celebration and fusion of Catholic dogma and political reality, the glorification of the royal couple Philip IV and Isabella of Bourbon, as well as that of Habsburg Spain as the Catholic state *par excellence*, is complete. The identification of the allegorical King and Christ with Philip IV is enriched through other biblical references (David, Abel, the Judge of the Last Judgement) that corroborate the King's *potestas*, his embodiment of justice and his cosmic authority.⁶⁷ The deification of Philip IV and Isabella

⁶⁴ *Al hombre, que su valido / y que su privado es, / hizo alcaide desde entonces / de este divino vergel; / del bien y del mal llegó / en poco tiempo a saber. / Pero ¿cuál privado, cuál / no supo del mal y el bien?* (p. 99); *Mucho del Hombre has debido / a la atención y cuidado; / con razón es tu privado, / con razón es tu valido* (p. 121).

⁶⁵ As, for instance, in Calderón's own plays *Saber del mal y del bien* and *La gran Cenobia*. Cf. Walthaus, 'Representar tragedias'.

⁶⁶ As Paterson observes: 'Un aspecto primordial de la fiesta del Corpus es el uso del texto bíblico como material que explica el orden simbólico de la eucaristía, sobre todo el uso de las tipologías que enlazan el Antiguo con el Nuevo Testamento' (Introduction to his edition, p. 24).

⁶⁷ For a further detailed explanation of the biblical symbolism included here, see Paterson's introduction to his edition of this *auto sacramental*, p. 35.

is most compelling at the end of the play, where, as part of the inauguration festivities, a chivalric *sortija* [joust] takes place, which is won by the King (Christ). This episode acquires its mystical allegorical meaning as well: the small and circular form of the ring (*sortija*) represents the host, and the mystery of transubstantiation is clearly visualised for the audience, when the Form (host) disappears and the King takes its place, explaining: *Blanco pan fue; pero ya, / transustanciado en mí mismo, / no es pan, sus especies sí, / porque este sólo es mi cuerpo*. [It was white bread, but, transubstantiated in myself, it is no bread, for this is only my body.]. Later, when the King disappears, the host is again present. The final scene offers the mystical apotheosis. The King, as Christ (with the Cross) and as *sacerdos in aeternum*,⁶⁸ offers the cross and the host to the Queen, that is, to the Church. And again, at this moment climax of the Eucharistic mystery, the twofold allegorical meaning is maintained by overt allusions to the Buen Retiro, now interpreted in terms of the sacred host:

*que en ese breve Retiro
del Pan constante me quedo
para siempre en cuerpo y alma,
de la forma que en el Cielo
estoy, ocupando iguales
dos lugares en un tiempo,
porque así la Ley de Gracia
me tenga siempre en el Nuevo
Palacio del Buen Retiro* (p. 178)

[For in this small 'Retiro'
of bread I stay constantly,
forever in body and soul,
in the way I am in Heaven,
at once occupying two places equally;
thus the Law of Grace
will always have me in the New
Palace of Buen Retiro.]

In this Eucharistic mystery the audience is reminded again, by music and song, that the visible King or Christ-priest represents their Habsburg sovereign, Philip. Philip's queen-consort is no less glorified. As we have seen, the Queen of the play, representing the Law of Grace and the Church, is explicitly identified with Isabella of Bourbon. The marriage of Philip and Isa-

⁶⁸ Cf. Paterson (ed), p. 177.

bella is thus allegorised as the covenant of Christ with the Church. The Queen is further associated with the cosmic woman of the Apocalypse (12: 1) and the Immaculate Virgin.⁶⁹ Seen on her throne beside the King of the play, she appears as the Queen of Heaven, *Maria Regina*, *Stella Matutina* and *Stella Maris*.

Philip IV and Mariana of Austria

Philip IV's second marriage, when he took as his bride his teenage niece, the Archduchess Mariana of Austria, was arranged to strengthen the position of the Spanish and German branches of the Habsburg family on the chessboard of European politics. In August 1649, the young queen arrived in Spain after a nine month journey from Vienna. The costs of this expedition, with the *cortège* that accompanied her, and those of the official royal entry in Madrid were extremely high, and coincided with Spain's deplorable economic situation in those years. However, making such investments in pomp and festivity was considered necessary in the overall campaign to display status and power. As Philip IV himself wrote in a letter to Sor María Jesús de Ágreda (10 March 1649), very conscious of the importance of such a display of royal splendour: ... *había que hacerlo, aunque para ello nos vendiésemos todos* [we had to do it, even if we had to sell ourselves for this purpose].⁷⁰ In October 1649 Mariana arrived in the palace of El Escorial and on November 15 of that year she celebrated her official public entry in Madrid, a most dazzling event, that the king himself described as an unequalled spectacle.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the high costs of this public entry had raised problems for the municipality of Madrid, so much so that at first they decided to reduce the four triumphal arches of the original design to three.⁷² But when a solution for the financial problem was found, they accepted the construction of a fourth arch, so that the symbolism of the mystical number four could be maintained.

The entry was an ostentatious exhibition of wealth and pomp, by means of which Spain's capital glorified the royal spouses and the Habsburg dy-

⁶⁹ Judaísmo: *Quién está en aquel dosel, / coronado de luceros / y de estrellas que le ilustran? Fe: La Reina está, porque asiento / es y escabel de sus plantas / la azul campaña del Cielo, / y estrado suyo el empíreo* (pp. 150-151)

⁷⁰ Seco Serrano, ed, *Epistolario*.

⁷¹ *Ayer [Mariana] hizo la entrada pública, y al parecer de todos los ancianos no se a visto igual día en Madrid ni aún fuera del. Yo os confieso que no le he visto semejante nunca, porque el lucimiento de todos fue grande y el adorno de las calles y buena disposición de los arcos, estremado* (letter XII in: Pérez Villanueva, *Felipe IV y Luisa Enríquez Manrique de Lara*, p. 108).

⁷² Varey and Salazar, 'Calderón', p. 7.

nasty, at the same time as it presented itself as a most grandiose and self-assertive court capital. It has to be kept in mind that, in spite of Philip II's decision in the previous century to make Madrid the capital of Spain, in 1601, at the instigation of the Duke of Lerma, the court had been transferred to Valladolid, where Philip IV was born; however, in 1606, Madrid was definitively chosen. Lacking the historical prestige that capitals such as Paris and Vienna could boast of, Madrid – the so proudly called *Villa y Corte coronada* – still had to defend and manifest its relatively recent position as the royal city. Public celebrations, festivities and royal entries were a good way to realise this purpose. 'Aquel destartalado y sucio Madrid aparecía convertido en ciudad monumental, por obra de los lienzos, las tablas y las pinturas' observes Deleito y Piñuela. [That ruinous and dirty Madrid appeared transformed into a monumental city, by means of tapestry, panels and paintings.]⁷³

The ceremony, festivities and ephemeral art constructions organised for the entry of Philip's second bride in Madrid are described in detail in the *Noticia del recibimiento i entrada de la Reyna nvestra Señora Doña Mariana de Austria en la muy noble i leal coronada Villa de Madrid*.⁷⁴ As we have observed, the book is a beautifully presented volume, in folio. The title page includes an engraving⁷⁵ of the gods Hymen and Mercury, representing more or less the two statues that were placed on the patio before the Alcázar during the entry and are described in detail in the *Noticia*, as we shall see. The route of the entry of Mariana went, via richly adorned streets, from the palace of the Buen Retiro, at the eastern edge of the town, to the king's principal residence, the Alcázar palace in the west. The queen, wearing a very costly and elegant Castilian dress (nacre, silver and precious jewels) and riding a white horse named Swan, was first welcomed by an enormous statue of Alegría [Joy], that seemed to be made of gold; a poem explained that Madrid would like to lay the world at Mariana's feet. A Mount Parnassus, with nine statues of Spanish poets, reminded her of Spain's rich literary past: Seneca, Lucan and Martial as the great hispanoclassical authorities, Juan de Mena, Garcilaso de la Vega and the Portuguese Luis de Camões from the previous century and Lope de Vega, Góngora and Quevedo representing Spain's flourishing recent literature. Most spectacular in the homage

⁷³ Deleito y Piñuela, *El rey se divierte*, p. 235.

⁷⁴ This text was attributed to Pedro Calderón de la Barca by Juan de Vera Tassis in his edition of the *Verdadera Quinta Parte* of the *comedias* of Calderón (1682) and later critics have followed this attribution. Varey and Salazar, however, have pointed out that the Madrileñan playwright was not the author of the *Noticia* ('Calderón'). See also Varey, 'Motifs artistiques'.

⁷⁵ According to the indication on the title page: '.^o Ricci delineauit. D.L.R. de Prado invenit. P.^o de Villafranca sculp.

rendered to the fourteen-year-old queen were the four triumphal arches that represented, on their front (visible as Mariana approached them) the four continents of the World, ‘en que nuestro Rey felizmente goza dilatados Imperios’ [where our King happily enjoys extensive empires], and, at the rear, the four elements. The first arch, erected on the place where de Calle del Prado met the Carrera de San Jerónimo, represented Europe and the element Air. Although contemporary political reality offered a rather less glamorous picture, Spain’s ‘invictos Reyes’ [invincible kings] were hailed here as the triumphant victors in Asia, America and Africa, and Spain as the arbiter in peace and war. But Madrid was no less present: painted on this arch as a ‘serious and proud Matron’, her prominent role in the triumph of Philip IV and the Spanish Monarchy was clearly stressed in an epigram, in which the stars, the bear and the crown of her coat of arms were associated with the corresponding constellations of the stars (Carro / Ursa Mayor, Ariadne). Being thus a cosmic heaven, Madrid could now even boast on the presence of a new Sun.⁷⁶

The second triumphal arch, situated in the Carrera de San Jerónimo, represented Asia and the element Earth; the third arch, at Puerta del Sol, showed Africa and Fire, and the fourth, before the Church of Santa Maria, America and the element Water. Passing the Convent of San Felipe, Mariana could admire another ‘costoso aparato’ [costly apparatus], 180 feet long, that represented the genealogy of the kings of Castile and the German emperors. At the Puerta de Guadalajara a fifth triumphal arch honoured her, offered by the Silk Merchants; and here the author of the *Noticia del recibimiento* felt obliged to stress that, though this arch did not fall under Madrid’s overall plan of four arches, the authorities simply could not dismiss such an ardent token of sympathy of the people to the new queen.⁷⁷

However, the apotheosis was at the end of the route and here the marriage motif was most prominent. Before the Alcázar two large statues – replicated on the title page of the *Noticia*, but in reality fifteen feet in height and placed on pedestals thirty feet high – were waiting for the young bride: Mercury, with winged shoes and winged hat, and Hymen, as a young man with burning torch, golden yoke and crowned with a garland of flowers. The *Noticia* gives a detailed description of the two statues,⁷⁸ that, though made out of ephemeral materials, imitated bronze perfectly.⁷⁹ The text on Mercury’s pedestal addressed Philip IV, explaining that, now Mariana had ar-

⁷⁶ *Noticia del recibimiento*, pp. 24-25.

⁷⁷ *fue forzoso, que, haciendo lugar à su Afecto, se les concediese interrumpir, por aquel rato, la ordenanza que los demas traian (ibidem, p. 72).*

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 97-100.

⁷⁹ The engraving on the title page of the *Noticia* depicts the two gods as an illustration of this final part of the entry: see fig. 5.

rived at the palace, Mercury's embassy had ended and Hymen was to take over. The corresponding poem on Hymen's pedestal hailed the royal bride and praised the marriage as a bond made by the Holy Spirit.⁸⁰ Again, in the poems written on the pedestals, heraldic symbols, cosmic and zodiacal signs combined to glorify this wedlock: the Sun entered in the sign of Leo (León), now that Mariana entered the Madrilenean palace of Philip:

*Si en la esfera d'el alto firmamento,
Feliz casa el León d'el Sol ha sido
I este, ò Madrid, influye en ti su aliento,
Gozate de mirarle repetido;
Pues entre oy en la casa soberana
D'el Leon Filipe, el Sol de Mar-ana.*⁸¹

[If in the sphere of the high firmament
the Lion has been the happy house of the Sun
and this one, or Madrid, blows its breath into you,
rejoice to see it again and again;
for today enters into the sovereign house
of Lion Philip, the Sun of Mariana.]

Then two triumphal chariots rode up, one for Mercury and one for Hymen, each thirty feet long. The chariot of Mercury supported a celestial orb, the chariot of Hymen a terrestrial orb; both globes were sustained by two *cupidillos*. The chariots thus symbolised – as is explicitly explained – the union of majesty and power, *maiestas* and *potestas*. The two powerful dynasties were represented, again, by their imperial and royal arms: Mercury's chariot was drawn by two enormous eagles, that of Hymen by two lions. The spectacle caused great admiration among the onlookers: *Fue de notable admiracion ver caminar tan grandes fabricas, que semejaba cada una un risco de luz i de plata; sin que ni vaiven, ni tropiezo interrumpiese lo acoradado de sus voces ...* [It was really admirable to see such large constructions moving, for each of them seemed a rock of light and silver; and neither its moving nor jolts did interrupt the harmony of its voices ...].⁸² At the front of each chariot stood Fame, blowing her trumpet. The chariots, each carrying a chorus (Mercury and Hymen) of twenty-four voices and six

⁸⁰ *No esta nupcial antorcha, cuyo bello / Esplendor; no este lazo, cuyo nudo / Nunca pudo zeñir mas digno cuello, / Nunca huella alunbrar mas digna pudo, / Profano dios a'l talamo previno; / Yugo i luz son de Espiritu Divino* (*Noticia del recibimiento*, p. 98).

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 99.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 111.

instruments, accompanied the bride with music and song on her way to the palace. The entry of Mariana culminated thus in a final triumph and epithalamium, that – as a ritual marriage song – invoked the blessing of progeny for the royal match.⁸³ Then the young queen entered the palace, where all was bathed in light. The next day, on her way to Our Lady of Atocha, she made the trip again in the opposite direction and could admire the arches from the other side. Nor was the fashion for chivalric tradition absent from this Baroque show of royal splendour; the festivities of the second day included masquerade and tournament and here the *Noticia* reports an unexpected and surprising participation of the king. In full harmony with the chivalric vogue of the time, Philip IV honoured his young bride by participating in a splendid tournament thereby rendering her the homage of a courtly knight to his lady.⁸⁴

This spectacular show of the royal entry of Mariana of Austria into Madrid is recorded in several seventeenth-century literary works, such as Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón's allegorical poem *Cortes del León y del Águila*⁸⁵ and the profane *comedia*, *Guárdate del agua mansa* by Pedro Calderón de la Barca. However, more interesting within the scope of this study is Calderón's *auto sacramental* entitled *La segunda esposa y triunfar muriendo*, that not only refers to the entry of Mariana, but dramatises and allegorises the second marriage of Philip IV in a more extensive way. While Calderón had deified the royal couple Philip IV and Isabella of Bourbon in *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, in *La segunda esposa y triunfar muriendo*, performed in 1649, he did the same for the king and his second wife, making use again of biblical and Catholic symbolism.

*Calderón's La segunda esposa y triunfar muriendo*⁸⁶

This *auto sacramental* (1649) celebrates Philip IV's second marriage and, simultaneously, in accordance with the purpose of the genre dramatises the history of man's Redemption culminating in the institution of the Eucharist

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 113.

⁸⁴ ... *su Magestad, que Dios guarde, quiso festejarla [the queen] por su real persona, saliendo, sin averlo antes publicado, en la mas rica i mas lvcida mascara que Madrid previno en ninguna de tales ocasiones ... Pasò su Magestad la carrera, con la gala acostunbrada de su maestria i destreza; aviendo hecho, quando entrò primero à pasearla, un ayroso i grave acatamiento à la Reyna Nuestra Señora'* (*Ibidem*, pp. 116-117).

⁸⁵ Published in his *El enano de las Musas* (1654). About this poem, see Schmidt, 'Les fêtes'.

⁸⁶ I use the text of the second version of the play (*refundición*) (García Ruiz, ed, *La segunda esposa*). See the introduction to this edition for a discussion of the two versions (1648 and 1649).

and the Church. The allegorical characters in this *auto* are: the King (el Rey), the Spouse [la Esposa], Man [el Hombre], the Sacraments, Sin, Death and Pleasure [*gracioso*]. The King, wishing to create a new monarchy and having lost his first wife, at the advice of Matrimony contracts a second marriage with the Spouse. Invitations for the marriage are sent out by Pleasure. The Spouse arrives after a long journey. Man, after many difficulties caused by Death and Sin, finally participates in the marriage banquet.

The polysemic mechanism used in *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* is also at work in this play. Two realities fuse in the allegory of the play: one spiritual (the Catholic dogma of the Sacraments, Christ's Redemption of Man and the institution of the Eucharist), the other terrestrial and political (the exaltation of king Philip and his second queen-consort, Mariana of Austria). Thus, the play implies both the glorification of the Eucharist and the deification of the royal couple, representing the Spanish and German branches of the Habsburg dynasty.

In the first scene, where the King expresses his wish to found a new great monarchy to combat with his sacraments the power of Death, he asks what a great monarchy needs from its beginning. Then the sacraments present successively their fundamental importance for the monarchy. It is Matrimony who, first, exposes the actual widower's situation of the King after the death of his first wife, the beautiful Synagogue, that is Isabella of Bourbon:

*... ya que la hermosa
Sinagoga, que dichosa
tu primera Esposa fue,
yace, será justo que
elijas Segunda Esposa.*

[... because beautiful
Synagogue, who was
your first happy spouse
has died, it is just that
you choose a second spouse.]

Then Matrimony incites the King to contract a second wedlock with Mariana:

*pues sabes que desde el día
que se lloró su desgracia,
Ana, en quien se dice Gracia,
previno a tu Monarquía,
con el nombre de María,
...
es por todo María y Ana. (pp. 91-93)*

[for you know that from the day
that it wept for its misfortune,
Ana, in whom we say Grace,
provided to your monarchy
the name of Maria.

...

she is all Maria and Ana.]

Thus, the explanation of the actual political meaning of the King's spiritual consorts is given in all clarity to the audience. The King agrees and sends Matrimony to contract the marriage *por poderes*, an overt reference to the wedlock by proxy of Philip and Mariana in Vienna, in 1648. Death, who was so pleased to have eliminated the first queen, Isabella of Bourbon, is now horrified to see the preparations (the triumphal arches) being made for the entry of a new queen. Both Death and Sin, the antagonists of the play, are intent upon precluding the marriage and preventing Man (who enters the world and the palace of Life) from participating in the marriage banquet. However, the sacraments are there to help him and, although fallen into sin, Man confesses his faith in the King and ends redeemed. It is the King who appears to give Man the sacrament of the Eucharist and who redeems him by dying on the cross, thus 'dying in triumph' (*triunfar muriendo*). The marriage of King and Spouse comes to symbolise the Covenant of Christ and Church: *bodas de segunda esposa, / y que son la Iglesia y Cristo* [marriage with a second spouse and they are the Church and Christ] (p. 157).

As in *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, the identification King=Christ=Philip IV and Spouse=Church=Mariana is justified and confirmed by the etymology of names (Philip = 'domador de fieras'; Mariana = Mary + Ana), by wordplay (homonymy Austro / Austral-Austria), by heraldic devices (the King uses the lion and the castle as 'empresa'; his palace is likewise adorned with lions and castles) and through biblical references (the King dying on the cross and using Christ's words: *Padre mío! Por qué me desamparaste?* [Father, why has thou forsaken me?]) (p. 203); *consumados / Triunfo y Matrimonio miro*, [Triumph and Marriage I see completed] p.205). The young bride of the play is explicitly identified with Mariana and, at the same time, represents the Virgin: Matrimony greets her, paraphrasing the *Salve Regina* hymn and the Spouse-Mariana reacts with the words of the Virgin's *Magnificat* (Luke 1: 46-55) and ends with Mary's answer to Gabriel at the Annunciation (Luke 1: 38).⁸⁷ It must be said that the

⁸⁷ *Si liberal y piadoso / tu Rey, viendo mi humildad, / quiere, con la majestad / de ser Todopoderoso, / hacerme grande, sus dones / a tanto me ensalzarán / que beata me dirán / todas las generaciones; / y así, atenta mi humildad, / sólo dirá con temor: / esclava soy del Señor, / cúmplase su voluntad* (p. 123).

association of Mariana, as a very young bride beside the middle-aged groom Philip IV, with the Virgin is a rather convincing image. She is also the Immaculate Virgin: *toda hermosa eres, / no hay en ti mancha alguna* [you are all beautiful, there is not any stain in you] (p. 175).

In addition to the Christian allegory and symbolism that constitutes the essence of the play and the genre, and, therefore, is omnipresent, the seventeenth-century political situation (the heresy in Europe, religious war, the Peace of Westphalia) is also evoked at various moments. The second marriage of the Spanish monarch – the union of lion and eagle – is presented as a bond that will secure the triumph of the Habsburgs in Europe and the triumph of Catholicism. The final scene offers the apotheosis of this glorification of both Christian dogma and Habsburg political and spiritual power. The King presents a lion, that opens to show in its inside a lamb; likewise, the Spouse shows an imperial eagle, that opens to show a dove inside. Then, lamb and dove are split open again to show to the audience, respectively, the infant of the Passion (Niño de Pasión), with cross and the attributes of the Passion, and the host with chalice. Thus, text and image collaborate in a sort of Baroque *mise-en-abîme* emblem, in which the identification of Christian symbolism and Habsburg heraldry is complete.

As in the earlier *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, Calderón, in *La segunda esposa*, again exploits the marriage of king Philip IV to glorify both Christian dogma and royal power. While in *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* the Queen of the play represents both the Church and Philip's first wife Isabella of Bourbon, in *La segunda esposa y triunfar muriendo*, the Spouse-Church is identified with Philip's second bride, Mariana of Austria. But Calderón does not forget Isabella's past existence and importance; carrying on the Christian allegory, Isabella's role is interpreted in this play as a typological prefiguration: she was the old Jewish covenant, the Synagogue, that preceded the Church: ... *ya que la hermosa / Sinagoga, que dichosa / tu primera Esposa fue, / yace, será justo que / elijas Segunda Esposa* [... because the beautiful Synagogue, that was your first happy spouse, has died, it will be just that you choose a second spouse.] (p. 163). Thus, in *La segunda esposa*, the union of the King (Philip IV) with the two successive consorts comes to signify God's two covenants with humanity: first with the Synagogue (Isabella) and then, after its demolition, with the Church (Mariana).

Conclusion

While the Spanish monarchy, during the reign of Philip IV, had to cope with a great political and economic recession, no costs were spared to give evidence of the wealth and power that it no longer possessed. Art (both permanent and ephemeral), public festivity and mourning were (politically) exploited to create an illusory image of grandeur. The display of wealth and spectacular pomp were the means of propaganda considered necessary to

enhance the image of the God-given greatness of the monarch and his kingdom and to keep the esteem of people inside and outside the country. It was the mechanism followed by the Count-Duke of Olivares and, after the fall of this powerful *privado*, it remained the strategy of the king and his ministers. In this campaign of self-fashioning propaganda the queen-consort also had her part. Philip IV's two marriages were contracted for clearly political aims, in order to consolidate Spain's position on the chessboard of international politics. Important as pawns in the royal marriage policy of seventeenth-century Europe, the main political function of Isabella of Bourbon and Mariana of Austria, once married with Philip IV, was limited: to bear the future heir to the Spanish throne. Pushed aside from active official politics – sometimes even oppressed by powerful ministers – the queen's high descent and unique bond with the monarch were, however, elements that could be glorified and spiritualised in official propaganda. In this display of royal power and excellence, the specific individual qualities of king and queen are scarcely exploited; it was their mighty descent and their superior position as sovereigns that was most highlighted. No stone was left unturned to create the illusion of their supereminent greatness. Allegorical, heraldic, mythological, cosmic, biblical and sacred symbolism was used to create the icon of a glorified union to be venerated: Aurora and the Sun, the eagle and the Sun, the *fleur de lys* united with lion and castle, a marriage bond favoured by Hymen and the Holy Spirit. It was in the two *autos sacramentales* by Calderón, studied in this essay, that the glorification of king and queen as a married union reached its zenith. As *autos sacramentales* these plays are, in the first place, an instrument at the service of the Counter-Reformation Church, teaching and propagating Catholic dogma in the celebration of the Eucharist. However, as 'occasional' plays, bound up with very specific circumstances, both plays are no less a panegyric of Calderón's wordly patrons: the sovereigns. The result is a sacred-political allegory without limits, in which the marriage of Philip IV and his queen consort is identified with that most sacred and spiritual bond in Christian Faith, the covenant of God and humankind.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ I wish to express my gratitude to my colleague Prof. Helen Wilcox from the English Department of Groningen University for her friendly correction of my English text.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Accetto, Torquato, *Della dissimulazione onesta*, ed. by S.S. Nigro (Turin, 1997).
- Ackerman, J.S., *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).
- Acquaviva, Belisario, *De principum liberis educandis*, ed. by D. Defilippis, in: Tateo, F., de Nichilo, M. and Sisto, P., eds, *Puglia Neo-Latina. Un itinerario del Rinascimento fra autori e testi* (Bari, 1994), pp. 177-197.
- Adam Davy's *Dreams about Edward the Second*, ed. F.J. Furnivall (London, 1878).
- Adamson, J., ed, *The Princely Courts of Europe 1500-1750: Ritual, Politics, and Culture under the Ancien Régime* (London, 1999).
- Aguzzi Barbagli, D., 'La difesa di valori etici nella trattatistica sulla nobiltà del secondo Cinquecento', *Rinascimento* 29 (1989), pp. 377-427.
- Albanese, G. and Bessi, R., *All'origine della guerra dei Cento anni. Una novella latina di Bartolomeo Facio e il volgarizzamento di Jacopo Bracciolini* (Rome, 2000).
- Albanese, G. and Pietragalla, D., 'In honorem regis edidit. Lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Facio alla corte napoletana di Alfonso il Magnanimo', *Rinascimento* 39 (1999), pp. 293-336.
- Albanese, G., ed, *Studi su Bartolomeo Facio* (Pisa, 2000).
- Alberti, Leon Battista, *Opere volgari*, ed. C. Grayson, *Rime e trattati morali*, vol. 2 (Bari, 1966).
- , 'Philodoxeos fabula', ed. L. Cesarini Martinelli, *Rinascimento*, n. s., XVII (1977), pp. 111-234.
- , *Momo o Del principe*, ed. and transl. by R. Consolo (Genova, 1986).
- , *De equo animante*, ed. C. Grayson, *Albertiana*, II (1999), pp. 193-235.
- Alexander, J.C. and Sedman, S., eds, *Culture and Society. Contemporary Debates* (Cambridge, 1990).
- Allegri, E. and Cecchi, A., *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici. Guida storica* (Florence, 1980).
- Alvar Ezquerro, A., 'La historia, los historiadores y el rey en la España del humanismo', in *Imágenes históricas de Felipe II*, ed. Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro (Madrid, 2000), pp. 217-254.
- Alvar Ezquerro, A., 'Sobre la historiografía castellana en tiempos de Felipe II', *Torre de los Lujanes* 32 (1996), pp. 89-106.
- Alvar, C., 'Raíces medievales de los libros de caballerías', *Edad de Oro* 21 (2002), pp. 61-84.
- Alvarez, V., *Relation du beau voyage que fit aux Pays-Bas en 1548 le prince Philippe d'Espagne*, ed. M.-T. Dovelée (Brussels, 1964).
- Álvarez-Ossorio Alvarino, A., 'Razón de linaje y lesa majestad. El Gran Capitán, Venecia y la corte de Fernando el Católico (1507-1509)', in: Belenguer Cebriá, *De la unión de Coronas*, vol. III, pp. 385-451.

- Amabile, L., *Il Santo Ufficio della Inquisizione in Napoli* (Città di Castello, 1892; repr. Soveria Mannelli, 1987).
- Ammirato, Scipione, *Delle famiglie nobili fiorentine* (Florence, 1615).
- , *Opere*, ed. by M. Capucci and M. Leone (Galatina, 2002).
- , *I Trasformati*, ed. by P. Andrioli Semola (Galatina, 2004).
- Anatra, B., 'Itinerarios de Carlos V', in: Castellano and Sánchez-Montes González, *Carlos V*, vol. III, pp. 37-45.
- Andrés de Uztarroz, J.F and Dormer, D., *Progresos de la historia de Aragón y vidas de sus cronistas* (Zaragoza, 1680; repr. Zaragoza, 1868).
- Andrés Martín, M., *Los Recogidos* (Madrid, 1977).
- Andrés, G. de, '31 Cartas inéditas de Juan Páez de Castro, cronista de Carlos V', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 168 (1971), pp. 516-571.
- Andrioli Nemola, P., 'I Trasformati di Scipione Ammirato: una commedia ripudiata?', in: Andrioli Nemola, P., Camerino, G.A., Rizzo, G. and Viti P., eds, *Teatro, scena, rappresentazione dal Quattrocento al Settecento. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Lecce, 15-17 maggio 1997)* (Galatina, 2000), pp. 171-197.
- , *Catalogo delle opere di Antonio de' Ferrarisi Galateo* (Lecce, 1982).
- Angiolini, F., 'Ludovici Capponi' in: *DBI* 19, p. 62-64.
- Anglo, S., *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969).
- Anglo, S., 'Image-making: The means and the limitations', in: Guy, *The Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 16-41.
- , ed, *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1990).
- Antolín, G., 'Inventario de los papeles del cronista Esteban de Garibay', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 89 (1926), pp. 15-26.
- Antonazzi, G., *Lorenzo Valla e la polemica sulla donazione di Costantino, con testi inediti dei secoli XV-XVII* (Rome, 1985).
- Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, ed. I. Fögel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász. M. and P. Kulcsár, 4 vols. (Leipzig 1936-1941).
- Antony, D., *Un grand ministre de Charles-Quint. Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, garde des sceaux et premier conseiller d'Etat et les comtois au service de l'Empire* (Besançon, 1983).
- Apró, St., ed, *Antonius Bonfini, Symposion de virginitate et pudicitia coniugali* (Budapest, 1943).
- Aquilecchia, G., 'Appunti su G.B. Della Porta e l'Inquisizione', *Studi Secenteschi* 9 (1968), pp. 3-31.
- , *Giordano Bruno* (Turin, 2001).
- Archi, A., *Gli Aragona di Napoli* (Rocca san Casciano, 1968).
- Armani, E.P., 'Appunti sulla committenza dei Della Rovere a Genova fra Quattro e Cinquecento', in: Bottaro, Dagnino and Rotondi Terminiello, *Sisto IV*, pp. 313-325.
- Armas, F.A. de, 'Villamediana's *La gloria de Niquea*: An Alchemical Masque', *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, 8 (1984), pp. 209-231.
- Armenini, Giovanni Battista, *De' veri precetti della pittura*, ed. by M. Gorreri (Turin, 1988).
- Arnold, J., *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd: the Inventories of the Wardrobe of Robes prepared in July 1600* (Leeds, 1988).
- Arróniz, O., *Teatros y escenarios del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid, 1977).

- Arslan, E., 'L'architettura milanese nella seconda metà del Quattrocento', in: *Storia di Milano*, vol. VII (Milan, 1956), pp. 599-690.
- Ashby, George, *Poems*, ed. M. Bateson (London, 1899).
- Ashelford, J., *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society, 1500-1914* (London, 1996).
- Ashmole, Elias, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1652).
- Averlino, Antonio (detto il Filarete), *Trattato di architettura*, ed. by A.M. Finoli and L. Grassi, 2 vols. (Milan, 1972).
- Balsamo, L., 'La circolazione del libro a corte', in: Papagno and Quondam, *La corte e lo spazio*, vol. 2, pp. 659-681.
- Baluzzi, S., *Tutelensis Miscellanea- opera studii Johannis Dominici Mansi Lucensi* (Lucca, 1961).
- Barbarus, Franciscus, *De re uxoria libri duo* (Strasbourg, 1611).
- Baring-Gould, S., *Myths of the Middle Ages* (London, 1997).
- Basinius Parmensis, *Opera praestantiora nunc primum edita et opportunis commentariis illustrata*, 2 vols. (Arimini, ex Typographia Albertiniana, 1794).
- Bataillon, M., *Erasmus y España* (Mexico City, 1967).
- Baxandall, M., *Pittura ed esperienze sociali nell'Italia del Quattrocento*, ed. and transl. by M.P. and P. Dragone (Turin, 1978).
- Beaune, C., 'Costume et Pouvoir en France à la fin du Moyen Age', *Revue des sciences humaines* 183 (1981), pp. 125-146.
- Belenguier Cebriá, E., ed, *De la unión de Coronas al Imperio de Carlos V*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 2002).
- Benedetti, S. and Zander, G., *L'Arte in Roma nel secolo XVI: L'Architettura* (Bologna, 1990).
- Benivieni, Antonio, *Vita di Pier Vettori l'Antico, gentil'huomo fiorentino* (Florence, 1585).
- '*Bentivolorum magnificentia*'. *Principe e cultura a Bologna nel Rinascimento*, ed. B. Basile (Rome, 1984).
- Bentley, J.H., *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, 1987).
- , 'The Humanist Secretaries of the Aragonese Kings of Naples', in: Gualdo, G., ed, *Cancelleria e cultura nel Medio Evo* (Vatican City, 1990), pp. 333-341.
- Bergent, P. and Chesshyre, H., *The Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1999).
- Bermejo Cabrero, J. L., 'Orígenes del oficio de cronista real', *Hispania* 40 (1980), pp. 395-409.
- Bernard, G., *The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility* (London, 1985).
- Berner, S., 'Florentine Political Thought in the Late Cinquecento', *Il pensiero politico* 3 (1970), pp. 177-199.
- Berner, S., 'Florentine Society in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Centuries', *Studies in the Renaissance* 18 (1971), pp. 203-246.
- Berry, P., *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (New York, 1989).
- Bertelli, S., ed, *Niccolò Machiavelli. Legazioni e Commissarie*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1964).
- Bettarini, R. and Barocchi, P., eds, Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, 6 vols. (Florence, 1967-1987).

- Billanovich, G., 'Vetera vestigia vatium in the poems of the pre-humanist Paduans', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 1 (1958), pp. 155-243.
- Biondi, A., 'Angelo Decembrio e la cultura del principe', in: Papagno and Quondam, *La corte e lo spazio*, vol. 2, pp. 637-657.
- Bloch, J.-R., *L'Anoblissement en France au temps de François I^{er}; Essai d'une définition de la condition juridique et sociale de la noblesse au début du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1934).
- Blunt C.E. and Whithorn C.A., 'The Coinages of Edward IV and Henry VI (Restored)' *The British Numismatic Journal* 3rd series V (1945-1948), pp. 7-9.
- Bocchi, F., 'La "Terranova" da campagna a città', in: Papagno and Quondam, *La corte e lo spazio*, vol. 1, pp. 167-192.
- Bolzoni, L., 'Le città utopiche del Cinquecento italiano: giochi di spazio e di saperi', *L'Asino d'oro* 4 (1993), pp. 64-81.
- Borghini, Vincenzo, *Storia della Nobiltà Fiorentina. Discorsi inediti o rari*, ed. by J.R. Woodhouse (Pisa, 1974).
- Borrás Gualis, G.M. and Criador Mainar, J., eds, *La imagen triunfante del Emperador. La jornada de la coronación imperial de Carlos V en Bolonia y el friso del ayuntamiento de Tarazona* (Madrid, 2000).
- Bosbach, F., 'Concepción imperial e imagen pública de Carlos V en su coronación en Bolonia', in: Kohler, A., ed, *Carlos V (1500-2000)* (Madrid, 2001), pp. 370-374.
- Boschetto, L., 'Ricerche sul Theogenius e sul Momus di Leon Battista Alberti', *Rinascimento*, n. s., 33 (1993), pp. 3-52.
- , *Leon Battista Alberti e Firenze. Biografia, Storia, Letteratura* (Florence, 2000).
- Boschloo, A.W.A., 'The representation of history in artistic theory in the early modern period', in: Enenkel, K., De Jong, J.L. and De Landtsheer, J., eds, *Recreating ancient history: episodes from the Greek and Roman past in the arts and literature of the early modern period*, (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2001), pp. 1-25.
- Botero, Giovanni, *Ragion di Stato* (Milan, 1589). English translation: *The Reason of State*, trans. P. J. and D. P. Waley (London, 1956).
- Bottari, G., 'La Sphortias', in: *Francesco Filelfo nel Quinto Centenario della morte. Atti del XVII convegno di studi maceratesi (Tolentino, 27-30 settembre 1981)* (Padua, 1986), pp. 459-493.
- Bottaro, S., Dagnino, A. and Rotondi Terminiello, G., *Sisto IV e Giulio II, mecenati e promotori di cultura* (Savona, 1985).
- Boulton, D'A.J.D., 'Insignia of Power: The Use of Heraldic and Para-Heraldic Devices by Italian Princes, c. 1350-1500,' in: Rosenberg, C.M., ed, *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, 1250-1500* (Notre Dame/London, 1990), pp. 103-127.
- , 'Classic Knighthood as Nobiliary Dignity: The Knighting of Counts and Kings' Sons in England 1066-1272', in: Church, S., ed, *Medieval Knighthood V: Papers from the fifth Strawberry Hill Conference 1994* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1995), pp. 40-100.
- , *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000).

- , 'The Incorporation' of the Insignia of Lay Offices into Armorial Achievements to 1570, especially in the Kingdom of France', to be published in the Proceeding of the XIIIth International Colloquium on Heraldry, Troyes, France, September 2003, forthcoming 2005.
- , *The Knighting of the Territorial Dignitaries of England in the Classic Phase, 1272-1399*. Forthcoming.
- Bouza Alvarez, F.J., 'Guardar papeles – y quemarlos – en tiempos de Felipe II. La documentación de Juan de Zúñiga. Un capítulo para la historia del Fondo Altamira (I)', *Reales Sitios* xxxiii (1996), pp. 3-15.
- , 'Para no olvidar y para hacerlo. La conservación de la memoria a comienzos de la edad moderna', in: *A Historia: Entre Memoria e Invenção* (Lisboa, 1998), pp. 129-172.
- , *Del escribano a la biblioteca. La civilización escrita*.
- Bradner, L., *Musae Anglicanae, A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry, 1500–1925* (New York/London, 1940).
- Brehm, E., 'Roger Bacon's Place in the History of Alchemy', *Ambix*, 23 (1976), pp. 53-58.
- Brigden, S., *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485-1603* (New York, 2000).
- Britnell, J. and Shaw, C., 'A French life of Pope Julius II, 1519: Jean Beaufils and his translation of Platina', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 62 (2000), pp. 103-118.
- Brooke, G.C., *English Coins. From the Seventh Century to the Present Day* (London, 1932, ²1942, ³rd revised repr. London, 1966).
- Brown, C.M. and Lorenzoni, A.M., *Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia. Documents for the History of Art and Culture in Renaissance Mantua*, (Geneva, 1982).
- Brown, E.A., 'Companion me with my Mistress: Cleopatra, Elizabeth I, and their Waiting Women', in: Frye, S. and Robertson, K., eds, *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England* (Oxford/New York, 1999), pp. 131-148.
- Brown, J., and J.H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King* (New Haven/London, 1980).
- Brown, J., *The Golden Age of Painting in Spain* (London, 1990).
- Brown, J. (dir.), *Velázquez, Rubens y Van Dyck* (Madrid, 1999).
- Burckhardt, J., *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien: Ein Versuch* (Stuttgart, 1976).
- , *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, transl. S.G.C. Middlemore (London, 1878; repr. Oxford, 1981).
- Busto, B. de, 'Empresa y conquista germánica del Emperador Carlos V', in: Graf van Looz-Corswaren, *Bernabé de Busto*.
- Butt, R., *A History of Parliament: The Middle Ages* (London, 1989).
- Buxton, J., *Elizabethan Taste* (London, 1963).
- Cacho Blecua, J.M., 'Los cuatro libros de Amadís de Gaula y las Sergas de Esplandián', *Edad de Oro* 21 (2002), pp. 85-115.
- Calderón de la Barca, P., *La segunda esposa y triunfar muriendo* (V. García Ruiz, ed.; Kassel 1992).
- , *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* (A.K.G. Paterson, ed.; Kassel, 1998).
- Calvete de Estrella, Juan Cristóbal, *El felicismo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe don Felipe* (Antwerp, 1552; Madrid, 1930).

- Calvete de la Estrella, J., *El felicísimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe don Felipe* (Madrid, 2001).
- Calzona, A. and Volpi G.L., *Il San Sebastiano di Leon Battista Alberti* (Florence, 1994).
- Camden, William, *The historie of the most renowned and victorious princesse Elizabeth* (London: Bemjamin Fisher, 1630).
- Camerota, F., 'Note sulla stufa di Giulio II ad Ostia antica', in: Bottaro, Dagnino and Rotondi Terminiello, *Sisto IV*, pp. 120-123.
- Campana, A., 'Basinio da Parma', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. VII, (Rome, 1965), pp. 89-98.
- Campanella, Tommaso, *Aforismi politici*, ed. by L. Firpo (Turin, 1941).
- , *La monarchia del Messia*, ed. by V. Fraiese (Rome, 1995).
- , *La Città del Sole*, ed. by L. Firpo, new edition by G. Ernst and L. Solvetti Firpo with postface by N. Bobbio (Rome/Bari, 1997).
- , *Le Poesie*, ed. by F. Giancotti (Turin, 1998).
- , *L'Ateismo trionfato ovvero Riconoscimento filosofico della religione universale contra l'antichristianesimo macchivallesco*, ed. by G. Ernst (Pisa, 2004).
- Canfora, D., 'Il *De rege et tyranno* di Agostino Nifo e il *De infelicitate principum* di Poggio Bracciolini', *Critica letteraria* 27 (1999), pp. 455-468.
- , 'Riflessioni di Giovanni Pontano su Cesare e Scipione', in: de Nichilo, M., Distaso G. and Jurilli, A., eds, *Confini dell'Umanesimo letterario. Studi in onore di Francesco Tateo* (Rome, 2003), pp. 187-199.
- Cantagalli, R., *Cosimo I de' Medici, granduca di Toscana* (Milan, 1985).
- Cantalicio, Giambattista, *Bucolica. Spectacula lucretiana*, ed. by L. Monti Sabia and G. Germano (Messina, 1996).
- Capellino, M., 'Mercurio Arborio Gattinara tra gioachinismo ed erasmismo'. *Mercurio Arborio di Gattinara, Gran Cancelliere di Carlo V. Atti del Convegno di Studi Storici* (Vercelli, 1982), pp. 35-36.
- Carafa, Diomede, *Memoriali*, ed. by F. Petrucci Nardelli, linguistic commentary and glossary by A. Lupis, introductory essay by G. Galasso (Rome, 1988).
- Carbone, L., *Facezie e Dialogo de la partita soa*, ed. G. Ruozi (Bologna, 1989).
- Carlo V a Bologna. Cronache e documenti dell'incoronazione (1530)*, ed. by R. Righi, preface by E. Pasquini with an by G. Sassu (Bologna, 2000).
- Carpenter, C., *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society 1401-1499* (London, 1999).
- Carpenter, D.A., *The Minority of Henry III* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1990).
- Carrasco Ferrer, C., 'Carlos V en Roma. El triunfo de un nuevo Escipión', *Carolus* (Madrid, 2000), pp. 81-101.
- Castellaneta, S., 'In margine ad un manoscritto secentesco: metafore della sovranità fra teatro, politica e filosofia morale', in: Castellaneta, S. and Minervini, F.S., eds, *Ragion di Stato a Teatro. Atti del Convegno (Foggia-Lucera-Bari, 18-20 aprile 2002)* (Taranto, 2004), pp. 77-94.
- Castellano, J.L. and Sánchez-Montes González, J.L., eds, *Carlos V. Europeísmo y Universalidad. La figura de Carlos V*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 2001).
- Castro, A. and Rennert, H.A., *Vida de Lope de Vega* (Salamanca, 1969).

- Cátedra García, P.M., 'Fiesta caballeresca: ideología y literatura en tiempos de Carlos V', in: Castellano and Sánchez-Montes González, *Carlos V*, vol. I, pp. 81-104.
- Cattini, M. and Romani, M.A., 'Le corti parallele: per una tipologia delle corti padane dal XIII al XVI secolo', in: Papagno and Quondam, *La corte e lo spazio*, vol. 1, pp. 47-82.
- Celani, E., ed, *Johannes Burckhardt. Liber notarum ab anno 1483 usque ad annum 1506*, 2 vols. (Città di Castello, 1907-1940).
- Cerbo A., *Il teatro dell'intelletto. Drammaturgia di tardo Rinascimento nel Meridione* (Naples, 1990).
- Cerboni Baiardi, G., Chittolini, G. and Floriani, P., eds, *Federico di Montefeltro. Lo stato, le arti, la cultura*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1986).
- Cernigliaro, A., *Sovranità e feudo nel regno di Napoli (1505-1557)* (Naples, 1983).
- Cessi, R., *Dispacci degli ambasciatori veneziani alla corte di Roma presso Giulio II, 25 giugno 1509 - 9 gennaio 1510* (Venice, 1932).
- Chabod, F., *Carlos V y su imperio* (Mexico/Madrid/Buenos Aires, 1992).
- Chalmeta, P., Checa Cremades, F., González Portilla, M. et al., eds, *Cultura y culturas en la Historia* (Salamanca, 1995).
- Chambers, D.S., *A Renaissance Cardinal and his worldly Goods: the Will and Inventory of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga (1444-1483)* (London, 1992).
- Chaves Montoya, M.T., *La Gloria de Niquea. Una invención en la Corte de Felipe IV* (Aranjuez, 1991).
- Checa Cremades, F., *Felipe II: mécenas de las artes* (Madrid, 1993).
- , *Carlos V. La imagen del poder en el Renacimiento* (Madrid 1999).
- Chiappini, L., *Gli Estensi* (Milan, 1967).
- , 'Borso d'Este', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 13 (Rome, 1971), pp. 134-143.
- Chiavoni, L., Ferlisi, G. and Grassi, M.V., eds, *Leon Battista Alberti e il Quattrocento. Studi in onore di Cecil Grayson e Ernst Gombrich*, (Florence, 2001).
- Chimes, S.B., *Henry VII* (London, 1972).
- Chironi, G., 'Pius II and the Formation of the Ecclesiastical Institutions of Pienza', in: Von Martels, Z.R.W.M. and Vanderjagt, A.J., eds, *Pius II – el più expeditivo pontefice*, pp. 171-185.
- Cicero, *De officiis* (*With an English Translation*), transl. W. Miller (Cambridge, Mass., 1913, repr. 1975).
- , *De oratore Books I, II* (*With an English Translation*), transl. E.W. Sutton (Cambridge, Mass., 1942, repr. 1976).
- Cirot, G., *Mariana historien* (Bordeaux, 1904).
- Civil, P., 'Culture et histoire: Galeries de portraits et "hommes illustres" dans l'Espagne de la deuxième moitié du xvi^e siècle', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, xxvi-2 (1990), pp. 5-32.
- Clayton, T., "'Sir Henry Lee's Farewell to the Court": The Texts and Authorship of "His Golden Locks Time Hath to Silver Turned"', *English Literary Renaissance* 4 (1974), pp. 268-275.
- Clements, R.J., *Michelangelo: A Self-Portrait: Texts and Sources* (New York, 1968).

- Cochrane, E., *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, 1527-1800*, vol. 2 (Chicago/London, 1974).
- Cockayne, G.E., *The Complete Peerage*, rev. by V. Gibbs, H.R. Doubleday *et al.*, 13 vols. (London, 1910-1959).
- Collenuccio, P., *Operette morali. Poesie latine e volgari*, ed. A. Saviotti (Bari, 1929).
- , *Compendio delle istorie del Regno di Napoli*, ed. by A. Saviotti (Bari, 1929).
- Collins, H.E.L., *The Order of the Garter, 1348 1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000).
- Colunga, E., 'Intelectualistas y místicos en la teología española del siglo XVI', *Ciencia Tomista* 9 (1914), pp. 209-221, 377-394.
- , 'Intelectualistas y místicos en la teología española del siglo XVI', *Ciencia Tomista* 10 (1915), pp. 223-242.
- Comines, Philippe de. *Las memorias de los hechos y empresas de Luis undecimo y Carlos octavo, reyes de Francia* (Antwerp, 1643).
- Condivi, Ascanio, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, in: *Michelangelo Buonarroti, Rime e Lettere* (Florence, 1858).
- Coniglio, G., *I Gonzaga* (Milan, 1967).
- , *I viceré spagnoli di Napoli* (Naples, 1967).
- Coote, L., *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Late Medieval England* (New York, 2000).
- Cordellier, D., 'Cronologia', in: *Pisanello*, ed. P. Marini (Milan, 1996), pp. 499-505.
- Corio, B., *Storia di Milano*, ed. A. Morisi Guerra, 2 vols. (Turin, 1978).
- Correspondencia de Gutierre Gómez de Fuensalida* (Madrid, 1907).
- Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Castilla y León*, 6 vols, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1861-1903).
- Cortesi, M., 'Sanctissimum militum exemplum: i martiri di Sebastia e Lorenzo Valla', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 54 (2000), pp. 319-336.
- Cosentino, P., 'Un plagio del *Principe*: il *De regnandi peritia* di Agostino Nifo', in: Gigliucci, R., ed, *Furto e plagio nella letteratura del classicismo* (Rome, 1998), pp. 139-160.
- Coss, P., *The Knight in Medieval England 1000 [sic]-1400* (London, 1993).
- , *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Coss, P. and Keen, M., eds, *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2002).
- Cotarello, A., *Fray Diego Deza* (Madrid, 1905).
- Croce, B., *I teatri di Napoli dal Rinascimento alla fine del secolo decimottavo* (Bari, 1916).
- , *Storia del Regno di Napoli* (Bari, 1925).
- , 'Scipione di Castro a Ginevra', in: Croce, B., *Aneddoti di varia letteratura*, seconda edizione con aggiunte interamente riveduta (Bari, 1953), vol. II, pp. 44-46.
- Croft, P.J., ed, *The Poems of Robert Sidney, Edited from the Poet's Autograph Notebook* (Oxford, 1984).
- Crouch, D., *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain 1000-1300* (London, 1992).

- Crum, M., *First Line Index of English Poetry, 1500–1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969).
- Cucari, A., *Sailing Ships* (Milan/Chicago, 1976).
- Cunningham, S., *Richard III, a Royal Enigma* (Oxford, 2004).
- Curley, J.P., 'Merlin the Bard', *Downside Review*, 99 (1981), pp. 12-32.
- Czvitlinger, David., *Specimen Hungariae literatae* (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1711).
- D'Agostino, G., 'Il Mezzogiorno aragonese (Napoli dal 1458 al 1503)', in: *Storia di Napoli* (Naples, 1974), vol. IV/1, pp. 233-313.
- , *La capitale ambigua. Napoli dal 1458 al 1580* (Napoli, 1979).
- , *Poteri, istituzioni e società nel Mezzogiorno moderno e contemporaneo* (Naples, 2003).
- D'Amico, J.F., 'Papal history and curial reform in the Renaissance: Raffaele Maffei's *Brevis Historia of Julius II and Leo X*', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 18 (1980), pp. 157-210.
- , *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore, 1983).
- D'Ewes, S., *The Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth both of the House of Lords and House of Commons Collected by Sir Simonds D'Ewes of Stow-Hall in the County of Suffolk...revised and published by Paul Bowes* (London, 1682).
- D'Onofrio, C., *Castel S. Angelo e Borgo tra Roma e Papato* (Rome, 1978).
- Dall'Oco, S., 'La *laudatio regis* nel *De rebus gestis ab Alphonso primo* di Bartolomeo Facio', *Rinascimento* 35 (1995), pp. 243-251.
- Davison, Francis, ed, *A Poetical Rhapsody, containing Diverse Sonnets, Odes, Elegies, Madrigals, and other Poesies, both in Rime, and Measured Verse, never yet published* (London: V.S for John Bailly, 1602).
- DBI*: Ghisalberti, A.M., ed, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 62 vols. (Roma, 1960-...).
- De Barthélemy, A., 'Etude sur les lettres d'anoblissement', *Revue historique, nobiliaire, et biographique* n.s. 5 (1869), pp. 193-208, 241-252.
- De Ferraris Galateo, Antonio, *Eremita*, in: Garin, E., ed, *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento* (Milan/Naples, 1952), pp. 1068-1125.
- , *Epistole*, ed. by A. Altamura (Lecce, 1959).
- , *De educatione*, ed. by C. Vecce and P. Tordeur (Leuven, 1993).
- , *Ad Mariam Lusitanam de hypocrisi*, ed. by F. Tateo, in: Tateo, F., de Nichilo, M. and Sisto, P., eds, *Puglia Neo-Latina. Un itinerario del Rinascimento fra autori e testi* (Bari, 1994), pp. 32-59.
- , *De nobilitate* (epistola a Gelasio), ed. by M.G. Di Pierro, in: Tateo, F., de Nichilo, M. and Sisto, P., eds, *Puglia Neo-Latina. Un itinerario del Rinascimento fra autori e testi* (Bari, 1994), pp. 107-175.
- , *Eremita*, ed. by S. Valerio (Bari, 1998).
- De Foronda y Aguilera, M., *Estancia y viajes de Carlos V, desde el día de su nacimiento hasta el día de su muerte* (Madrid, 1914).
- De Illescas, G., *Jornada de Carlos V a Túnez* (Madrid, 1946).
- De Lisio, P.A., *Studi sull'Umanesimo meridionale* (Naples, 1973).
- , *Gli anni della svolta (tradizione umanistica e vicereame nel primo Cinquecento napoletano)* (Cercola, 1976).

- De Liso, D., *La scrittura della storia. Francesco Capececiatro (1594-1670)*, preface by F. Tateo (Naples, 2004).
- De Marinis, T., *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona* (Milan, 1947-1952).
- De Mattei, R., *La politica di Campanella* (Rome, 1927).
- , *Dal premachiavellismo all'antimachiavellismo* (Florence, 1969).
- de Miranda, G., *Una quiete operosa. Forme e pratiche dell'Accademia napoletana degli Oziosi, 1611-1645* (Naples, 2000).
- de Nichilo, M., 'Dal Pontano al Giovio: l'*Historia* di Girolamo Borgia', in: *La storiografia umanistica. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Messina, 22-25 ottobre 1987)* (Messina, 1992), vol. I/2, pp. 699-729.
- , 'Girolamo Borgia, Guicciardini, Machiavelli-Nifo e la caduta degli Aragonesi', in: Fera, V. and Ferraù, G., eds, *Filologia umanistica per Gianvito Resta*, vol. I (Padua, 1997), pp. 527-564.
- , *Retorica e magnificenza nella Napoli aragonese* (Bari, 2000).
- , 'Papa Borgia e gli umanisti meridionali', in: Canfora, D., Chiabò, M. and de Nichilo, M., eds, *Principato ecclesiastico e riuso dei classici. Gli umanisti e Alessandro VI. Atti del Convegno (Bari-Monte Sant'Angelo, 22-24 maggio 2000)* (Rome, 2002), pp. 49-98.
- , 'Preliminari per l'edizione dell'*Historia* di Girolamo Borgia', in: de Nichilo, M., Distaso G. and Jurilli, A., eds, *Confini dell'Umanesimo letterario. Studi in onore di Francesco Tateo* (Rome, 2003), pp. 437-466.
- De Terrateig, Baron, ed, *Politica en Italia del Rey Catolico, 1507-1516: Correspondencia inedita con el embajador Vich*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1963).
- De Vecchi, P., 'Committenza e attività artistica alla corte degli Sforza negli ultimi decenni del Quattrocento', in: *Milano nell'età di Ludovico il Moro. Atti del convegno internazionale (28-febbraio - 4 marzo 1983)*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1983), pp. 503-514.
- De Villanova, R., *Capítulo de la Orden del Toisón de Oro, celebrado en Barcelona 1519* (Barcelona, 1930).
- Decembrius Angelus, *Politiæ literariæ libri septem* (Augsburg: Henricus Steynetus, 1540).
- Defilippis, D., *Tradizione umanistica e cultura nobiliare nell'opera di Belisario Acquaviva* (Galatina, 1994).
- Deleito y Piñuela, J., *El rey se divierte* (Madrid, 1988).
- Della Porta, Giovan Battista, *Teatro (primo tomo: tragedie; secondo, terzo e quarto tomo: commedie)*, ed. by R. Sirri (Naples, 2000-2003).
- Delle Donne, F., *Politica e letteratura nel Mezzogiorno medievale. La cronachistica dei secoli XII-XV* (Salerno, 2001).
- Dennys, R., *The Heraldic Imagination* (London, 1975).
- Di Carlo, E., 'Un teorico della Ragion di Stato: Scipione di Castro', in: *Scritti in onore del Prof. Ugo Conti per il trentesimo anno di ordinariato: 1902-1932* (Città di Castello, 1932), pp. 283-298.
- di Castro, Scipione, *La politica come retorica*, ed. by R. Zapperi (Rome, 1978).
- Di Piero, M.G., 'Un'inedita controversia di Lippo Brandolini sul primato fra le lettere e le armi alla corte di Ferrante d'Aragona', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Bari*, 24 (1981), pp. 401-419.
- Di Vieri, Francesco, *Il Primo Libro della Nobiltà* (Florence, 1574).

- Díaz Gito, M.A. 'Un epigrama y una carta del humanista Calvete de Estrella', in *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico. II.3. Homenaje al Profesor Luis Gil* (Cádiz, 1996), pp. 1335-1342.
- Diaz, F., 'L'idea di una nuova elite sociale negli storici e trattatisti del principato', *Rivista storica italiana* 92 (1980), pp. 572-587.
- Dibden, L.B., 'Secretaries in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries' *English Historical Review* 25 (1910).
- Díez Borque, J.M., 'Palacio del Buen Retiro: Teatro, fiesta y otros espectáculos para el Rey', in F.B. Pedraza Jiménez and R. González Cañal, eds, *La década de oro en la comedia española: 1630-1640* (Almagro, 1997), pp.167-189.
- Dionisotti, C., 'Notizie di Alessandro Minuziano', in: *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. 4: *Letteratura classica e umanistica* (Vatican City, 1946), pp. 327-372.
- , *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Turin, 1967).
- Distaso, G., *Scenografia epica. Il Trionfo di Alfonso. Epigoni tassiani* (Bari, 1999).
- , *Palcoscenico. La drammaturgia pugliese negli ultimi cinque secoli* (Fasano, 2003).
- , ed, *Studi sul teatro meridionale tra Sei e Ottocento* (Bari, in print). The pages on the political theatre in seventeenth-century Naples are by S. Castellaneta.
- Doglió, M.L., *L'arte delle lettere. Idea e pratica della scrittura epistolare tra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Bologna, 2000), pp. 29-74.
- Domínguez Casas, R., 'Fiesta y ceremonial borgoñón en la Corte de Carlos V', in: Redondo Cantera and Zalama, *Carlos V*, pp. 13-45.
- , *Arte y etiqueta de los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid, 1993).
- Domínguez Ortiz, A., 'Un testimonio de protesta social a fines del reinado de Felipe II', in: *Homenaje a Pedro Saínz Rodríguez* (Madrid, 1986), vol. III, 219-226.
- Donati, C., *L'idea di nobiltà in Italia, secoli XIV-XVIII* (Rome/Bari, 1988).
- Doyle, J.E., *The Official Baronage of England*, 3 vols. (London, 1886).
- Doyle, Powicke and Fryde, 'Dukes, Marquesses and Earls (England), 1066-1714', in: Powicke and Fryde, *Handbook*, pp. 413-456.
- Ducrot, A., 'Histoire de la Cappella Giulia au XVI^e siècle depuis sa fondation par Jules II (1513) jusqu'à sa restauration par Grégoire XIII (1578)', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 75 (1963), pp. 179-240, 467-559.
- Elliott, J.H., 'Self-perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain', *Past and Present*, 74 (1977), pp. 41-61.
- , *The Count-Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven/London, 1986).
- Ellis, H., ed, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, 3 vols. (London, 1824).
- Elogio panegirico al mas lamentable fin que lloraran los siglos, a la mverte de la serenissima señora Dona Isabel de Borbon, Reina de España* (Lima, 1645).
- Elton, G.R., *The Tudor Revolution in Government. Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henri VIII* (London, 1953, repr. 1974).
- , 'Tudor Government', *Historical Journal* 31 (1988), pp. 425-434.
- Emery, A., *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300-1500*, vol. I: *Northern England* (Cambridge, 1996); vol. II: *East Anglia, Central*

- England, and Wales* (Cambridge, 2000); vol III: *Southern England* (to appear).
- Erasmus, Desiderius, of Rotterdam, *Adagia. Sei saggi politici in forma di proverbi*, ed. by S. Seidel Menchi (Turin, 1980).
- , *Adagiorum chiliarum prima, pars prior*, ed. by M.L. Van Poll-Van de Lisdonk, M. Mann Phillips and C. Robinson (Amsterdam/London/New York/Tokyo, 1993).
- Erler, A., 'Reichsapfel', in: *Handwörterbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*. Vol. IV (1990), cols. 537f..
- Ernst, G., 'L'opacità del male e il disincanto del profeta. Profezia, ragion di Stato e provvidenza divina in un testo inedito di Campanella (1627)', *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 2 (1996), pp. 89-155.
- , 'L'aurea età felice. Profezia, natura e politica in Tommaso Campanella', in: *Tommaso Campanella e l'attesa del secolo aureo* (Florence, 1998), pp. 61-88.
- Esch, A., 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II.: Herrschaftspraxis und Selbstdarstellung', in: Von Boockmann, H., Moeller, B. and Stackmann, eds, *Lebenslehren und Weltentwürfe im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 112-140.
- Esler, A., *The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation* (Durham, NC, 1966).
- Evans, J., *Pattern: A Study of Ornament in Western Europe from 1180 to 1900*, vol. I (Oxford, 1931; repr. 1976).
- Exequias fnerales qve celebros la myv insigne, y real Vniversidad de Valladolid a la memoria de la serenissima Reyna N.S. Doña Ysabel de Borbon* (Valladolid, 1645).
- Fabbri, M. et al., eds, *Il luogo teatrale di Firenze* (Milan, 1975).
- Facio, Bartolomeo, *Storia di Alfonso d'Aragona, re di Napoli*, ed. by D. Pietragalla (Alessandria, 2003).
- Fagel, R., 'Un heredero entre tutores y regentes: Casa y Corte de Margarita de Austria y Carlos de Luxemburgo (1506-1516)', in: Martínez Millán, *Carlos V*, vol. I, pp. 120-122.
- Feo, M., 'Bonfini, Antonio', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. II, col. 411.
- Fernández Alvarez, M., 'Las Memorias de Carlos V', *Hispania*, xviii (1958), pp. 690-718.
- Fernández de Oviedo, G., *Libro de la cámara real de príncipe don Juan* (Madrid, 1880).
- Feros, A., *Kingship and Favouritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598-1621* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Ferràù, G., 'Gli opuscoli militari di Belisario Acquaviva', in: Lavarra, C., ed, *Territorio e feudalità nel Mezzogiorno rinascimentale: il ruolo degli Acquaviva fra XV e XVI secolo. Atti del I Convegno internazionale di studi sulla casa Acquaviva di Atri e di Conversano* (Galatina, 1995), vol. I, pp. 87-120.
- Ferràù, G., 'La concezione storiografica del Valla: i *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum*', in: Besomi, O. and Regoliosi, M., eds, *Lorenzo Valla e l'Umanesimo italiano. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi umanistici di Parma (18-19 ottobre 1984)* (Padua, 1986), pp. 265-310..

- , 'Il *De rebus ab Alphonso primo gestis* di Bartolomeo Facio', *Studi umanistici* 1 (1990), pp. 69-113.
- Ferrone, S., 'Il teatro', in Malato, E., ed, *Storia della letteratura italiana (volume quinto: la fine del Cinquecento e il Seicento)* (Rome, 1997), pp. 1057-1109.
- Figliuolo, B., *La cultura a Napoli nel secondo Quattrocento. Ritratti di protagonisti* (San Daniele del Friuli, 1997).
- Finzi, C., *Re, baroni, popolo. La politica di Giovanni Pontano* (Rimini, 2004).
- Fiore, F.P., 'La fabbrica quattrocentesca del Palazzo Della Rovere in Savona', in: Bottaro, Dagnino and Rotondi Terminiello, *Sisto IV*, pp. 261-276.
- Fiorentino, F., 'Del *Principe* del Machiavelli e di un libro di Agostino Nifo', *Giornale Napoletano di Filosofia e Lettere, Scienze morali e politiche*, n.s. 1 (1879), pp. 94-114.
- Firpo, L., 'L'utopia politica nella Controriforma', *Quaderni di Belfagor* 1 (1948), pp. 78-108.
- , 'Campanella contro Aristotele in difesa della Città del Sole', *Il Pensiero politico* 15 (1982), pp.375-389.
- , *Il processo di Giordano Bruno*, a cura di D. Quagliani (Rome, 1993).
- , *I processi di Tommaso Campanella*, ed. by E. Canone (Rome, 1998).
- Forner, J.P., 'Discurso sobre la historia de España', in: *Discurso sobre el modo de escribir y mejorar la historia de España*, ed. Francisco López (Barcelona, 1973).
- Fosdick Baldwin, J., *The King's Council in England During the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1913).
- Foster, R., *Patterns of Thought: the Hidden Meaning of the Great Pavement of Westminster* (Woodbridge, 1991).
- Fox, A., 'The complaint of poetry for the death of liberality: the decline of literary patronage in the 1590s', in: Guy, J., ed, *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 229-257.
- Fox-Davies, A.C., *Heraldic Badges* (London, 1907).
- Franceschini, A., *Giovanni Aurispa e la sua biblioteca. Notizie e documenti* (Padua, 1976).
- Fraser, Lady Antonia, *The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1975).
- Frati, L., ed, *Le due spedizioni militari di Giulio II tratte dal Diario di Paride Grassi Bolognese* (Bologna, 1886).
- Frommel, C.L., 'Die Peterskirche unter Papst Julius II', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1976), pp. 57-136.
- , '"Capella Iulia": Die Grabkapelle Papst Julius' II in Neu-St. Peter', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 40 (1977), pp. 26-62.
- , 'Papal policy: The planning of Rome during the Renaissance', in: Rotberg, R. I. and Rabb, T. K., eds, *Art and History: Images and Their Meaning* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 39-65.
- , 'Il Cardinale Raffaele Riario ed il Palazzo della Cancelleria', in: Bottaro, Dagnino and Rotondi Terminiello, *Sisto IV*, pp. 73-85.
- Frye, S., *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford/New York, 1993).
- Fuiano, M., *Insegnamento e cultura a Napoli nel Rinascimento* (Naples, 1971).

- Fulco, G., *La «meravigliosa» passione. Studi sul Barocco tra letteratura ed arte* (Rome, 2001).
- Fulin, R. et al., eds, *Marino Sanuto, I Diarii*, 58 vols. (Venice, 1879-1903).
- Gachard, M., *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, vol. II (Brussels, 1874).
- Gaeta, F., *Lorenzo Valla. Filologia e storia nell'Umanesimo italiano* (Naples, 1955).
- , 'Dal comune alla corte rinascimentale', in: Asor Rosa, A., *Letteratura italiana*, vol. I: *Il letterato e le istituzioni* (Turin, 1982), pp. 149-255.
- Galasso, G., *Mezzogiorno medievale e moderno* (Turin, 1975).
- , *Il Mezzogiorno nella storia d'Italia* (Florence, 1984).
- , *Il Regno di Napoli. Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese* (Turin, 1992).
- Gállego, J., 'Aspectos emblemáticos en las reales exequias españolas de la Casa de Austria', *Goya*, 187-188 (1985), pp. 120-125.
- , *Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid, 1991).
- Gamrath, H., 'The Herculaean Addition to old Ferrara. The Birth of modern european Town-Planning?', in: Pade, Waage Petersen and Quarta, *La corte di Ferrara*, pp. 151-158.
- García Hernán, E., 'La iglesia de Santiago de los Españoles en Roma: trayectoria de una institución', *Anthologica Annu* 42 (1995), pp. 307-314.
- , 'Construcción de las historias de España en los siglos xcii y xviii', in: García Cárcel, R., ed, *La construcción de las historias de España* (Madrid, 2004), pp. 127-193.
- García, B., ed, *El Imperio de Carlos V. Procesos de agregación y conflictos* (Madrid, 2000).
- Gareffi, A., *La scrittura e la festa. Teatro, festa e letteratura nella Firenze del rinascimento* (Bologna, 1991).
- Garibay, Esteban de, *Los xl libros del compendio historial de las chrónicas de España* (Antwerp, 1571).
- , *Memorias de Garibay*, ed. P. Gayangos, *Memorial Histórico Español*, vol. VII (Madrid, 1854).
- , *Letreros e insignias reales de todos los serenísimos reyes de Oviedo, León y Castilla para la sala real de los alcácares de Segovia, ordenados por mandado del Cathólico Rey nuestro señor Don Felipe el II por Esteban de Garibay su chronista* (Salamanca, 1993).
- Garin, E., 'La cultura milanese nella seconda metà del XV secolo', in *Storia di Milano*, vol. VII (Milan, 1956), pp. 541-597.
- Giardina, C., *La vita e l'opera politica di Scipione di Castro* (Palermo, 1931).
- Giménez Fernández, M., *Bartolomé de las Casas. I.- Delegado de Cisneros para la reforma de las Indias* (Madrid, 1984).
- Ginés de Sepúlveda, Juan, 'Historia de Carlos V', in *Obras completas*, I-II, eds. E. Rodríguez Peregrina and B. Cuart Moner (Pozoblanco, 1996).
- Ginori Lisci, L., *I palazzi di Firenze nella storia e nell'arte*, vol. 2 (Florence, 1972).
- Girardi, R., 'Intelletuali e accademie scientifiche meridionali nel '500. Note e spunti', *Lavoro critico* 30 (1983), pp. 105-143.
- Given-Wilson, C., *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth-Century Political Community* (London/New York, 1987).

- Gómez Moreno, A., *España y la Italia de los Humanistas. Primeros ecos* (Madrid, 1994).
- Góngora, F.J., *Historia del colegio mayor de Santo Tomás de Sevilla*, vol. I (Sevilla, 1890).
- González Enciso, A., 'Del rey ausente al rey distante', in González Enciso, A. and Usunáriz Garayoa, J.M., eds, *Imagen del rey, imagen de los reinos* (Pamplona, 1999), pp. 1-18.
- Gonzalo Sánchez-Melero, J.L., 'El humanismo áulico carolino: discursos y evolución', in: Martínez Millán, *Carlos V*, vol. III, pp. 125-127.
- Graf van Looz-Corswaren, O.A., ed, *Bernabé de Busto, Geschichte des Schamalkaladischen Kriegs* (Berg, 1938).
- Gragg, F.A., (transl.) and Gabel, L.C. (introd. and notes), *The commentaries of Pius II*, Smith College studies in history, vol. 22 (nos. 1-2); vol. 25 (nos. 1-4), vol. 30, vol. 35, vol. 43 (Northampton, Mass, 1937-1957).
- Grant, A., *Henry VII: The Importance of His Reign in English History* (London, 1985).
- Grassi, L., 'Note sull'architettura del ducato sforzesco', in: *Gli Sforza a Milano e in Lombardia e i loro rapporti con gli stati italiani ed europei (1450-1535). Convegno internazionale (Milano, 18-21 maggio 1981)* (Milan, 1982), pp. 449-517.
- Graves, M., *Henry VIII: A Study in Kingship* (London, 2003).
- Gray, H.L., 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', *English Historical Review* 99 (1934), pp. 607-639.
- Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts. Venetian. 1592-1603*, ed. Horatio F. Brown (London, 1897), vol. 9.
- Greenblatt, S., *Sir Walter Raleigh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles* (New Haven/London, 1973).
- Gross, A., *The Dissolution of the Lancastrian Kingship* (Stamford, 1966).
- Gualdo, G., 'Giovanni Toscanella', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, XIII (1970), pp. 29-58.
- Guenée, B., *Histoire et culture historique dans l'occident médiéval* (Paris, 1980).
- Gundersheimer, W.L., *Art and Life at the Court of Ercole I d'Este: The 'De triumphis religionis' of Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti* (Geneva, 1972).
- , *Ferrara. The Style of a Renaissance Despotism* (Princeton, NJ., 1973).
- Gunn, S., 'The courtiers of Henry VIII', in: Anglo, *Chivalry*, pp. 163-188.
- Guy, J., ed, *The Tudor Monarchy* (London, etc., 1997).
- Haner, Georg Jeremias, *De scriptoribus rerum hungaricarum* (Vienna 1774, 1777).
- Hannay, M.P., *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford/New York, 1990).
- , Kinnamon, N.J. and Brennan, M.G., eds, *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998-1999).
- Harington, H., ed, *Nugae Antiquae*, 3 vols. (London, 1779).
- Harris, B.J., 'Women and Politics in Early Tudor England', *Historical Journal* 33.2 (1990), pp. 259-287.
- Haskell, F., *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven, 1993).
- Hasler, C., *The Royal Arms: Its Graphic and Decorative Development* (London, 1980).

- Hatton, E., *A New View of London*, 2 vols. (London, 1708).
- Heal, F. and Holmes, C., *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (Stanford, 1994).
- Hengeveld, J., *Pocetti's fresco's in de Sala Grande van Palazzo Capponi aan de Lungarno Guicciardini* (unpublished thesis, Groningen, 1997).
- Hennel, Col. Sir Reginald, *The History of the King's Body Guard of the Yeomen of the Guard* (London, 1904).
- Henzner, P., *Travels in England during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1889).
- Hernando Sánchez, C.J., *Castilla y Nápoles en el siglo XVI. El virrey Pedro de Toledo* (Junta de Castilla y León, 1996).
- , 'El reino de Nápoles y el dominio de Italia en el Imperio de Carlos V (1522-1532)', in: García, *El Imperio de Carlos V*, pp. 110-153.
- , *El reino de Nápoles en el Imperio de Carlos V. La consolidación de la conquista* (Madrid, 2001).
- , 'El glorioso triunfo de Carlos en Nápoles y el humanismo de Corte entre Italia y España', In: Galasso, G. and Musi, A., eds, *Carlo V, Napoli e il Mediterraneo* (Naples, 2001), pp. 447-523.
- Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio, *Historia de la guerra entre Turcos y Persianos*.
- , *Historia de lo sucedido en Escocia y Inglaterra* (Madrid, 1725).
- , *Historia de los sucesos de Francia desde el año 1585, que comenzó la liga católica, hasta el fin de 1594* (Madrid, 1598).
- , *Cinco libros de la historia de Portugal y la conquista de las islas de los Azores* (Madrid, 1591).
- , *Información en hecho y relación de lo que pasó a Milan* (Madrid, 1598).
- , *Comentarios de las alteraciones de Flandres* (Madrid, 1600).
- , *Primera parte de la historia general del mundo, de xvi años del señor rey don Felipe II el prudente, desde el año MDLIX a MDLXXIII* (Madrid, 1601).
- , *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar oceano* (1601), ed. M. Cuesta Domingo (Madrid, 1991).
- Hoak, D., 'The Iconography of the Crown Imperial', in: Hoak, D., ed, *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 54-103.
- Hoensch, J.K., ed, *Matthias Corvinus* (Graz, etc., 1998).
- Honemann, V., 'Humanistische und und spätmittelalterliche Zeitgeschichtsschreibung in Braunschweig um 1500. The *Descriptio belli* by Telamonius Ornatomontanus (Tilman Rasche von Zierenberg) and the German language account of the 'Großen Braunschweiger Stadtfehde' von 1492-1494', in: *Städtische Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, 2000), pp. 111-156.
- , 'Herrscheradventus in städtischer Perspektive: Der Einzug des Königs Matthias Corvinus in Breslau 1469 und seine Darstellung in der Chronik des Peter Eschenloer'. Forthcoming.
- Hook, J., 'Clement VII, the Colonna and Charles V: A study of the political instability of Italy in the second and third decades of the sixteenth century', *European Studies Review* 2 (1972), pp. 293-294.

- Hope, C., 'Artists, patrons and advisers in the Italian Renaissance', in: Fitch Lytle, G. and Orgel, S., eds, *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 293-343.
- Hopkins, L., *Women who Would be King: Female Rulers of the Sixteenth Century* (London/New York, 1991).
- Hughes, J., *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV* (Stroud, 2002).
- , *Hidden Truths and Earthly Powers: English Kings and the Pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone*. Forthcoming.
- Hurstfield, J., *The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage under Elizabeth I* (London/New York/Toronto, 1958).
- Ianziti, G., *Humanistic Historiography under the Sforzas. Politics and propaganda in Fifteenth Century Milan* (Oxford, 1988).
- IJsewijn, J., *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies (part I: History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature)* (Leuven, 1999), pp. 54-82.
- Il sogno di Pio II e il viaggio da Roma a Mantova. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Mantova, 13-15 aprile 2000)*, eds. A. Calzona, F. P. Fiore, Alberto Tenenti, C. Vasoli (Florence, 2003).
- Ives, E., *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 1986).
- Izbicki, Th., 'Reject Aeneas! Pius II on the Errors of his Youth', in: Von Martels and Vanderjagt, *Pius II – el più expeditivo pontefice*, pp. 187-203.
- Jacquot, J., ed, *Les fêtes de la Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1975).
- James, T.B., *The Palaces of Medieval England, c. 1050-1550: Royalty, nobility, the episcopate, and their residences from Edward the Confessor to Henry VII* (London, 1990).
- John of Glastonbury's Chronicle*, ed. J.P. Curley (s.l., s.d.), pp. 28-30.
- Jones, A.R. and Stallybrass, P., *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Jones, M., ed, *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 1986).
- Jurilli, A., *L'opera di Antonio Galateo nella tradizione manoscritta. Catalogo* (Naples, 1990).
- Kagan, R.L., 'Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape.' in: Rotberg, R.I. and Rabb, T.K., eds, *Art and History* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 115-136.
- , ed, *Cities of the Golden Age. The Spanish Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde* (Berkeley, 1988).
- , *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley, 1990).
- , 'Clio and the Crown: Writing History in Habsburg Spain', in: Kagan, R.L. and Parker, G., eds, *Spain, Europe, and the Atlantic World. Essays in Honour of John H. Elliott* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 73-99.
- , '[Felipe II], La Historia, y los Cronistas del Rey', *Philippus II Rex* (Madrid, 1998), pp. 87-118.
- , 'Felipe II: El Hombre y la Imagen', in: *Felipe II y el arte de su tiempo*, ed. R. Luca de Tena (Madrid, 1998), pp. 457-473.
- , 'Clio y la Corona. Escribir historia en la España de los Austrias', *España, Europa y el mundo atlántico. Homenaje a John H. Elliott* (Madrid, 2000), pp. 113-147.

- , *El Rey Recatado Felipe II, la historia y los cronistas del rey* (Valladolid, 2004).
- Kamen, H., *Philip of Spain* (London and New Haven, 1997).
- Kantorowicz, E., *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, (Princeton, NJ, 1957, ³1970).
- Katrinzky, M.A., 'The Florentine *entrata* of Joanna of Austria and Other *Entrate* Described in a German Diary', *JWCI* 59 (1996), pp. 153, 155, 157.
- Keevil, G.D., *Medieval Palaces: An Archaeology* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, England/Charleston, S.C., U.S.A., 2000).
- Kelley Sowards, J. (comm.) and Pascal, P. (transl.), *The Julius Exclusus of Erasmus* (Bloomington/London, 1968).
- Keniston, H., *Francisco de los Cobos, secretario de Carlos V* (Madrid, 1980).
- Kingsford, C.L., ed, *The First English Life of King Henry V* (Oxford, 1911).
- Kipling, G., *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998).
- Kliemann, J., *Gesta dipinte. La grande decorazione nelle dimora italiane dal Quattrocento al Seicento* (Milan, 1993).
- Koebner, R., *Empire* (Cambridge, 1961).
- Kollaris, A.F., ed, *Analecta monumentorum omnis aevi Vindobonensia*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1762).
- Kronthal, B. and Wendt, H., ed, *Politische Correspondenz Breslaus im Zeitalter des Königs Matthias Corvinus*. First section 1469-1479 (Breslau, 1893).
- La redazione manoscritta del 'Libro de natura de amore' di Mario Equicola*, ed. L Ricci (Rome, 1999).
- Laetus, C. Erasmus [Rasmus Glad], *Margareticarum: hoc est, de conflictu Gotthico: in quo Margaretae Danorum reginae auspiciis, Albertus Megapolensis Sueciae Rex captus regnoque exutus est* (Frankfurt am Main: Sebastian Feyerabend, 1573).
- Lalanne, L., *Œuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdieu, seigneur de Brantôme* (Paris, 1866).
- Landström, B., *Sailing Ships* (Stockholm, 1969).
- Latham, A.M.C., ed, *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh* (London, 1951).
- Latham, R.E., *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965).
- Lawrence, J., 'Memory and Invention in Fifteenth-Century Iberian Historiography', in: Cardim, P., ed, *A História: entre memória e invenção* (Lisbon, 1998), pp. 91-128.
- Leeman, A.D., *Gloria: Cicero's waardering van de roem en haar achtergrond in de wijsbegeerte en de Romeinse samenleving* (Rotterdam, 1949).
- , Pinkster, H. and Nelson, H.L.W., eds, *M. Tullius Cicero, De oratore libri III. Kommentar. 2. Band: Buch I, 166-265; Buch II, 1-98* (Heidelberg, 1985).
- Leonardo de Argensola, Bartolomé, 'Sobre las cualidades que ha de tener un perfecto cronista', in *Obras sueltas de Lupercio y Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola*, ed. Conde de la Viñaza (Madrid, 1889), vol. II. pp. 255-278.
- Levin, C., *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia, 1996).
- Levin, M., 'A Spanish Eye on Italy: Spanish Ambassadors in the Sixteenth Century'

- (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1997).
- Liez, J.L., ed, *La Toison d'Or. Un mythe européen* (Paris/Metz, 1998).
- Linehan, P., *History and Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1992).
- Lippens, H., 'Saint Jean de Capistran en mission aux États bourguignons, 1442-1443', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 35 (1942), pp. 3-25.
- , 'Deux épisodes du litige séculaire entre les Clarises Colettines et les Pères Observants au sujet de leurs privilèges respectifs (XV^e-XVI^e siècles)', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 41 (1948), pp. 282-295.
- Lippincott, K., 'The Iconography of the Salone dei Mesi and the Study of Latin Grammar in: Pade, Waage Petersen and Quarta, *La corte di Ferrara*, pp. 93-110.
- Litchfield, B.R., *Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians, 1530-1790* (Princeton, 1986).
- Lo Parco, F., *Un accademico pontaniano del secolo XVI, precursore dell'Ariosto e del Parini [Gerolamo Angeriano]. Contributo alla storia dell'Umanesimo e della coltura italiana del Cinquecento* (Ariano Irpino, 1898).
- Loades, D.M., *The Tudor Court* (London, 1986) (Totowa, NJ, 1987).
- Lojacono, D., 'L'opera inedita *De maiestate* di Giuniano Maio e il concetto di principe negli scrittori della corte aragonese di Napoli', *Atti della Regia Accademia di Scienze morali e politiche di Napoli* 24 (1891), pp. 329-376.
- London, H.S., *Royal Beasts* (London, 1958).
- López del Toro, J., 'Francisco de Borgoña, compilador de Calvete de la Estrella', *Hispania* 4 (1944), pp. 383-433.
- , *Epístolas de Juan Verzosa* (Madrid, 1945).
- , ed, *De Rebus Indicis de Calvete de Estrella* (Madrid, 1950).
- López Vidriero, M.L. and Catedra, P.M., eds, *El libro antiguo español. IV. Coleccionismo y bibliotecas. Siglos xv-xviii* (Salamanca, 1998).
- López, E., 'L'observance franciscaine et la politique religieuse des ducs de Bourgogne', *Annales de Bourgogne* 72 (2000) pp. 73-103, 177-236.
- Lovelich, H., *The History of the Holy Grail Englished, ab. 1450 AD by Henry Lovelich from the French prose (ab. 1180-1200 AD) of Robiers de Borron*, 3 vols (London, 1874-1905).
- Lubkin, G., *A Renaissance Court. Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Berkeley, 1994).
- Lucas, R.H., 'Ennoblement in Late Medieval France', *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977), pp. 239-260.
- Ludwig, W., *Die 'Borsias' des Tito Strozzi* (Munich, 1977).
- Lull, R., *Il Testamentum Alcemico Attributo A Raimundo Lullo, Edizione del testo Latino e Catelano del Manuscritto*, ed, M. Pereira and B. Spaggiari (Florence, 1991).
- Lutz, H., *Christianitas Afflicta. Europa, das Reich und die Papstpolitik in Niedergang des Hegemonies Kaiser Karls (1552-1556)* (Göttingen, 1996).
- Luzio, A. and Renier, R., 'Niccolò da Correggio', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 21 (1893), pp. 205-264; 22 (1893), pp. 65-98.
- , 'La coltura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga', 2: 'Le relazioni letterarie. Gruppo mantovano', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 34 (1899), pp. 1-97.

- , 'La coltura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga', 3: 'Le relazioni letterarie. Gruppo ferrarese', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 35 (1900), pp. 193-257.
- Luzio, A., *Isabella d'Este di fronte a Giulio II negli ultimi tre anni del suo pontificato* (Milan, 1912).
- M. Morán Turina, "'Gastamos un millón en quince días." La fiesta cortesana', in *Calderón de la Barca y la España del Barroco* (Madrid, 2000), pp. 111-122.
- MacCurdy, R.R., *The Tragic Fall: Don Alvaro de Luna and Other Favorites in Spanish Golden Age Drama* (Chapel Hill, 1978).
- MacGibbon, D. *Elizabeth Woodville (1437-1492), her life and times.* (London, 1938).
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, *Opere*, vol. I: *De principatibus, Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio, Dell'arte della guerra*, from *Legazioni*, vols. 1-2, ed. R. Rinaldi (Turin, 1999).
- Madonna, M.L. 'El viaje de Carlos V por Italia después e Túnez: el triunfo clásico y el plan de reconstrucción de las ciudades', in: Morales, A.J. ed, *La fiesta en la Europa de Carlos V* (Madrid 2000), pp. 119-153.
- Maio, Iuniano, *De maiestate. Inedito del sec. XV*, ed. by F. Gaeta (Bologna, 1956).
- Malaguzzi Valeri, F., *La corte di Ludovico il Moro*, vol. 1: *La vita privata e l'arte a Milano nella seconda metà del Quattrocento* (Milan, 1913).
- Malory, T., *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory* (3rd edn), ed. E. Vinaver, P.J.C. Field, 3 vols (Oxford, 1990).
- Mamone, S., *Il teatro nella Firenze medicea* (Milan, 1981).
- Manacorda G., 'Galeotto del Carretto poeta lirico e drammatico monferrino', *Memorie della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, classe di scienze morali, s. II, XLIX (1898-1899), pp. 47-125.
- Mancini, M., 'La elaboración de nuevos modelos en la retratística carolina: la relación privilegiada entre el emperador y Tiziano', in: Redondo Cantera and Zalama, *Carlos V y las Artes*, pp. 225-227.
- Mansi, J.D., ed. *Pii II P. M. olim Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*, 3 vols (Lucca, 1755-1759).
- Marcus, L.S., *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1988).
- Marcus, L.S., Mueller, J. and Rose, M.B., eds, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* (Chicago/London, 2000).
- Mariana, J. de, *Obras completas de Juan de Mariana* (Madrid, 1950).
- Marías, F., 'El palacio de Carlos V en Granada: formas romanas, usos castellanos', in: Redondo Cantera and Zalama, *Carlos V*, pp. 107-128.
- Marín Pina, M.C., 'Ideología del poder y espíritu de cruzada en los libros del reinado', in: *Fernando II de Aragón, el Rey Católico* (Zaragoza, 1996), pp. 87-105.
- Marineo Sículo, Lucio, *De la cosas memorables de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1530).
- Marotti, A.F., *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca/London, 1995).
- Martelli, S., 'Poesia e potere: il *De miseria principum* di G. Angeriano', in: *La cultura umanistica nell'Italia meridionale* (Naples, 1980), pp. 75-102.

- Martínez Millán, J., 'Grupos de poder en la Corte durante el reinado de Felipe II: la facción ebolista (1554-1573)', in: *Instituciones y Elites de poder en la Monarquía Hispana durante el siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1992), pp. 137-197.
- , ed, *La Corte de Carlos V* (Madrid, 2000).
- , ed, *Carlos V y la quiebra del Humanismo político en Europa (1530-1538)*, 3 vols. (Madrid 2001).
- Märtl, Cl., 'Alltag an der Kurie: Papst Pius II. (1458-1464) im Spiegel Zeitgenössischer Berichte', in: Von Martels and Vanderjagt, *Pius II – el più expeditivo pontefice*, pp. 107-145.
- Mastronardi M.A., 'Retorica e ideologia alla corte di Borso d'Este', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi della Basilicata*, VII (1993-1994), pp. 313-320.
- , 'La 'scrittura' in corte', in: Savonarola, M., *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este*, ed. M.A. Mastronardi (Bari, 1996).
- Mastronardi, M.A. and Gargano, T., *Feste a corte e commedie di principi. Teatro e musica in Puglia fra Sei e Settecento* (Fasano, 1999).
- Mathiessen, F.O., *Translation. An Elizabethan Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931).
- May, S.W., *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and their Contexts* (Columbia/London, 1991).
- Mayerne Turquet, Lewis de, *General Historie of Spain* (London, 1612).
- McCoy, R.C., *The Rights of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Los Angeles, 1989).
- McEvedy, C. and Jones, R., *Atlas of World Population History* (Harmonsworth, 1978).
- McFarlane, K.B., *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973).
- Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*, ed. P. Szarmach, M.T. Tavormina and J. Rosenthal (New York/London, 1998).
- Melissus, Paul [Paul Schedel], *Mele sive Odae* (Nuremberg: Haeredes Montani, 1580).
- , *Ode Pindarica ad...Elizabetham Britannae, Franciae, Hiberniaeque reginam* (Augsburg: no publisher given, 1582).
- Merkus, D., 'The Study of Spiritual Alchemy, Mysticism, Gold Making and Esoteric Hermeneutics, *Ambix*, 37 (1990), pp. 35-45.
- Merlin and the Grail: The Trilogy of Arthurian Romances attributed to Robert de Boron*, transl. N. Bryant (Woodbridge, 2001).
- Merlin: A Prose Version*, ed. H.B. Wheatley, 4 vols. (London, 1871).
- Mertes, K., *The English Noble Household 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford, 1988).
- Merton, C., 'The Women who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber, 1553-1603' (unpublished PhD diss., Cambridge, 1992).
- Mesnard, P., 'L'expérience politique de Charles Quint et les enseignements d'Erasmus', in: Jacquot, *Les fêtes*, vol. II, pp. 53-54.
- Mexía, Pedro. *Historia del Emperador Carlos V*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1945).
- Michelini Tocci, L., 'La formazione della biblioteca di Federico da Montefeltro: codici contemporanei e libri a stampa', in: Cerboni Baiardi, Chittolini and Floriani, *Federico di Montefeltro*, vol. 1, pp. 9-18.

- Miele, L., 'Belisario Acquaviva tra la corte degli Aragonesi di Napoli e il Vicereame', in: Lavarra, C., ed, *Territorio e feodalità nel Mezzogiorno rinascimentale: il ruolo degli Acquaviva fra XV e XVI secolo. Atti del I Convegno internazionale di studi sulla casa Acquaviva di Atri e di Conversano* (Galatina, 1995), vol. I, pp. 55-71.
- Miele, L., *Studi sull'Umanesimo meridionale* (Naples, 1994).
- Miglio, M., *Scritture, Scrittori e Storia II: Città e corte a Roma nel Quattrocento* (Rome, 1993).
- Milano nell'età di Ludovico il Moro. Atti del convegno internazionale (28- febbraio - 4 marzo 1983)*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1983).
- Miñana, R., 'Los márgenes del poder, el poder de los márgenes: El marco narrativo en *La Gloria de Niquea* de Villamediana', *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 52 (2000), pp.55-81.
- Mingay, G.A., *The Gentry* (London, 1976).
- Mini, Paolo, *Difesa della città di Firenze e de' Fiorentini contro le calunnie e maldicentie de' maligni* (Lyon, 1577).
- , *Discorso della Nobiltà di Firenze e de' Fiorentini* (Florence, 1593).
- Minieri Riccio, C., *Memorie storiche degli scrittori nati nel regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1844; repr. Bologna, 1967).
- , *Biografie degli accademici alfonisini* (Naples, 1880; repr. Bologna, 1969).
- Montaner, E., 'The Last Tribute to Isabella of Bourbon at Salamanca', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 60 (1997), pp. 164-193.
- Monti Sabia, L., 'Giovanni Pontano tra prassi e teoria storiografica: il *De bello Neapolitano* e l'*Actius*', in: *La storiografia umanistica. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Messina, 22-25 ottobre 1987)* (Messina, 1992), vol. I/2, pp. 573-651.
- , *Pontano e la storia. Dal 'De bello Neapolitano' all'Actius* (Rome, 1995).
- Monti, S., 'Il problema dell'anno di nascita di Giovanni Gioviano Pontano', *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* 12 (1963), pp. 225-252.
- Morales, Ambrosio de, *La coronica general de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1574).
- , *Los otros dos libros de la coronica general de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1577).
- , *Los cinco libros postreros de la coronica general de España* (Córdoba, 1586).
- , *Coronica general de España que continuaba Ambrosio de Morales* (Madrid, 1791).
- , *Viaje santo por Ambrosio de Morales por orden del rey Phelipe II a los reinos de León y Galicia y Principado de Asturias para reconocer las reliquias de los santos, sepulchros reales y libros manuscritos de las cathedrales y monasterios* (Madrid, 1765; fasc. ed, Madrid, 1985).
- Morán, J.M., and Checa, F., *El coleccionismo en España: de la cámara de maravillas a la galería de pinturas* (Madrid, 1985).
- Moranti, M., 'Organizzazione della biblioteca di Federico da Montefeltro', in: Cerboni Baiardi, Chittolini and Floriani, *Federico di Montefeltro*, vol. 3: *La cultura*, pp. 19-49.
- Morata, Olympia, *Olympiae Fulviae Moratae foeminae doctissimae ac plane diuinae orationes, dialogi, epistolae, carmina, tam Latina quam Graeca* (Basel: Petrus Perna, 1562).

- Morel-Fatio, A., 'El cronista Antonio de Herrera y el Archiduque Alberto', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos* 12 (1905), pp. 55-57.
- , *L' historiographie de Charles V* (Paris, 1913).
- Moreno Garrido, A., and Gamonal Torres, M.A., *Velázquez y la familia real a través de un epistolario de Felipe IV* (Madrid, 1988).
- Morisi Guerra, A., 'Introduzione', in: Corio, B., *Storia di Milano*, ed. A. Morisi Guerra, vol. 1 (Turin, 1978), pp. 9-33.
- Morreale, M., *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 3 (1954), pp. 5-20.
- Morte García, C., 'La llegada del Renacimiento a la escultura aragonesa: de Fernando el Católico a Carlos V (1500-1530)', in: Belenguer Cebriá, *De la unión de Coronas*, vol. III, pp. 53-119.
- Mowl, T., *Elizabethan and Jacobean Style* (London, 1993).
- Mugnai Carrara, D., 'Profilo di Nicolò Leonicensi', *Interpres*, II (1979), pp. 169-212.
- Muñoz, Andrés, *Viaje del Felipe II a Inglaterra*, ed. P. Gayangos (Madrid, 1877).
- Musson, A. and Ormrod, W.M., *The Evolution of English Justice: Law, Politics and Society in the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1999).
- Muto, G., 'I trattati napoletani cinquecenteschi in tema di nobiltà', in: De Benedictis, A., ed, *Sapere e/è potere. Discipline, dispute e professioni nell'Università medievale e moderna. Il caso bolognese a confronto. Atti del 4° Convegno (Bologna, 13-15 aprile 1989)*, vol. III (Bologna, 1990), pp. 321-343.
- Myers, A.R., *The Household of Edward IV* (Manchester, 1959).
- Navarra, Pedro de, 'Diálogos qual debe ser el chronista del príncipe', in: *Diálogos de la eternidad del ánima* (Tolosa, 1565).
- Neale, J.E., *The Age of Catherine de Medici* (London, 1943).
- Nebrija historiador*, 2 vols. (Lebrija, 1992).
- Nederman, C.J., 'Humanism and Empire: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Cicero and the Imperial Ideal', *The Historical Journal* 36 (1993), pp. 499-515.
- Nenner, H., *The Right to be King: The Succession to the Crown of England, 1603-1714* (Chapel Hill, 1995).
- Newton, A.P., 'Tudor Reforms in the Royal Household', in: Seton-Watson, R.W., ed, *Tudor Studies* (London, 1924), pp. 231-256.
- Nicolas, Sir Harris and Courthope, W., *The Historic Peerage of England* (London, 1857).
- Nieremberg, Juan Eusebio. *En la corona virtuosa* (Madrid, 1642).
- North, J.D., *The Ambassador's Secret* (London, 2002).
- Norton, T., *Ordinal of Alchemy*, ed. J. Reidy (London, 1975).
- Noticia del recibimiento i entrada de la Reyna nvestra Señora Doña Maria-Ana de Austria en la muy noble i leal coronada Villa de Madrid* (s.l., 1650).
- Nuovo, I., 'Moduli narrativi e interessi eruditi nell'esperienza storiografica di Sertorio Quattromani', in *La storiografia umanistica. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Messina, 22-25 ottobre 1987)* (Messina, 1992), vol. I/2, pp. 731-760.
- Nuovo, I., 'Institutio principis e ideale principesco in una corte meridionale: Belisario Acquaviva e Antonio Galateo', in: Chomarat, J., Dust, Ph., Moss, A., Schmidt, P.G. and Tateo, F., eds, *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini*

- Hafniensis (Copenhagen, 12-17 august 1991)* (New York, 1994), pp. 751-759.
- , *Il mito del Gran Capitano. Consalvo di Cordova tra storia e parodia* (Bari, 2003).
- Ocampo, Florián, *Los cinco libros primeros de la crónica general de España* (Medina del Campo, 1553).
- Oman, Ch., *The Coinage of England* (Oxford, 1931).
- Ordine, N., *La soglia dell'ombra. Letteratura, filosofia e pittura in Giordano Bruno*, preface by P. Hadot (Venice, 2003).
- Orso, S.N., *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcazar of Madrid* (Princeton, 1986).
- , *Art and Death at the Spanish Habsburg Court. The Royal Exequies for Philip IV* (Columbia, 1989).
- Otway-Ruthven, J., *The King's Secretary and the Signet Office in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1939).
- Pacheco, F., *El arte de la pintura*, (B. Bassegoda i Hugas, ed, Madrid, 1990).
- Pade, M., Waage Petersen, L. and Quarta, D., eds, *La corte di Ferrara e il suo mecenatismo 1441-1588 – The Court of Ferrara and its Patronage. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Copenhagen, 21-23 maggio 1987)* (Modena, 1990).
- Páez de Castro, J., 'Memorial del Dr. Juan Páez de Castro, dado al rey Phelippe II al principio de su reinado', *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas, y museos* 9 (1883), pp. 165-178.
- , 'De las cosas necesarias para escribir historia', *Ciudad de Dios* 28 (1892), pp. 601-610, and 29 (1892), pp. 27-37.
- Palazzo Capponi sul Lungarno Guicciardini e gli affreschi restaurati di Bernardino Poccetti*. Medri, L.M. and Vasetti, S., eds. (Florence, 2001).
- Palisser, M., *Historic Devices, Badges, and War-Cries* (London, 1870; repr. Detroit 1971).
- Palumbo, M., *La città del sole. Bibliografia delle edizioni (1623-200). Con una appendice di testi critici* (Pisa/Rome, 2004).
- Panormita, Antonio Beccadelli, *Liber rerum gestarum Ferdinandi regis*, ed. by G. Resta (Palermo, 1968).
- Papagno, G. and Quondam, A., eds, *La corte e lo spazio: Ferrara estense*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1982).
- Pardi, G., *Leonello d'Este marchese di Ferrara* (Bologna, 1903).
- , *Borso d'Este* (Pisa, 1906).
- Parker, G., 'Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Habsburgs', in: Buisseret, D., ed, *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps* (Chicago, 1992), pp. 124-152.
- Pastore Stocchi, M., 'Il pensiero politico degli umanisti', in *Storia delle idee politiche economiche e sociali*, ed. by L. Firpo (Turin, 1987), pp. 3-63.
- Pastoureau, M., 'Aux origines de l'emblème: La crise d'héraldique européenne aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles', in: Pastoureau, M., *Emblèmes et devises au temps de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1981); repr. in Pastoureau, *L'Hermine et le sinople: Etudes d'héraldique médiévale* (Paris, 1982), pp. 327-333.
- Pedìo, T., *Storia della storiografia del regno di Napoli* (Chiaravalle Centrale, 1973).

- Pegazzano, D., 'I "visacci" di Borgo degli Albizzi: uomini illustri e virtù umanistiche nella Firenze di tardo Cinquecento', *Paragone*, vol. 43 (1992), pp. 51-71.
- Pemberton, C., ed, *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings* (London, 1899).
- Pereira, M., *The Alchemical Corpus Attributed to Raymund Lull* (London, 1989).
- Pérez de Guzmán, Fernan, *Generaciones, semblanzas é obras de Don Enrique el Tercero é Don Juan el Segundo*, *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. II (Madrid, 1877).
- Pérez Pastor, C., *Bibliografía madrileña*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1917).
- Pérez Villanueva, J., *Felipe IV y Luisa Enríquez Manrique de Lara, Condesa de Paredes de Nava: un epistolario inédito* (Salamanca, 1986).
- Pérez, A., *Cartas y Relaciones*, ed. Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro (Madrid, 1986).
- Peruzzi, P., 'Lavorare a corte: *Ordine et officij*. Domestici, familiari, cortigiani e funzionari al servizio del Duca d'Urbino', in: Cerboni Baiardi, Chittolini and Floriani, *Federico di Montefeltro*, vol. 1: *Lo Stato* pp. 225-296.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus, *The Buildings of England*, Herefordshire (Harmondsworth, 1965).
- Philippe de Beaumanoir, *The Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, transl. and introd. by F.R.P. Akehurst (Philadelphia, 1992).
- Phillips, J.E., 'Elizabeth I as a Latin Poet: An Epigram on Paul Melissus', *Renaissance News* 16 (1963), pp. 289-298.
- Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvius, *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1571; facs. ed. Frankfurt am Main, 1967).
- , Papa Pio II. *I Commentarii*, ed. L. Totaro, 2 vols. (Milan, 1984).
- , *De viris illustribus*, ed. A. van Heck (Vatican City, 1994).
- Pietragalla, D., 'La fortuna dei *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi regis libri* di Bartolomeo Facio. Stampe, lettori, volgarizzamenti', *Archivio Storico Italiano* 156 (1998), pp. 257-291.
- Pii II Commentarii rerum memorabilium que temporibus suis contigerunt*, ed. A. van Heck, 2 vols. (Vatican City, 1984).
- Pii secundi pontificis maximi Commentarii*, eds. I. Bellus and I. Boronkai, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1993-1994).
- Pinches, J.H. and Pinches, R.V., *The Royal Heraldry of land* (London, 1974).
- Pissavino, P.C., 'Le forme della conservazione politica: ragion di Stato e utopia', in: Vasoli, C., *Le filosofie del Rinascimento* (Milan, 2002), pp. 552-608.
- Pius II, *Epistola ad Mahomatem II. (Epistle to Mohammed II)*, ed. and transl. A.R. Baca (Bern/Frankfurt am Main/New York, 1990).
- Political Poems and Songs*, ed. T. Wright, vol. I (London, 1859).
- Pollard, 'Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors', *English Historical Review* 37 (1922), pp. 337-360.
- Pompa fneral, honras y exequias en la muerte de la muy alta y catolica Señora Doña Isabel de Borbon, Reyna de las Españas y del Nuevo Mundo, que se celebraron en el Real Convento de S. Gerónimo de la villa de Madrid* (Madrid, 1645).
- Pontano, G., *I dialoghi*, ed. by C. Previtera (Florence, 1943).
- , *De principe*, in: Garin, E., ed, *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento* (Milano-Napoli, 1952), pp. 1023-1063.
- , *De sermone libri sex*, ed. by S. Lupi and A. Riscato (Lugano, 1954).

- , *De magnanimitate*, ed. by F. Tateo (Florence, 1969).
- , *De immanitate liber*, ed. by L. Monti Sabia (Naples, 1970).
- , *Dialoge*, übersetzt von H. Kiefer unter Mitarbeit von H.-B. Gerl und K. Thieme, mit einer Einleitung von E. Grassi (Munich, 1984).
- , *I libri delle virtù sociali*, ed. by F. Tateo (Rome, 1999).
- , *De principe*, ed. by G.M. Cappelli (Rome, 2003).
- Pontieri, E., 'Dinastia, Regno e Capitale nel Mezzogiorno aragonese', in *Storia di Napoli* (Naples, 1974), vol. IV/1, pp. 3-230.
- Popoff, M., ed, *Recueil historique des Chevaliers de l'ordre de Saint-Michel, rédigé par Jean François d'Hozier*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1998).
- Porreño, Baltasar, *Dichos y hechos del señor rey don Felipe II el prudente* (Cuenca, 1621; Madrid, 1942).
- Povoledo, E., 'Origini e aspetti della scenografia in Italia. Dalla fine del Quattrocento agli intermezzi fiorentini del 1589', in: Pirrotta, N., ed, *Li due Orfei. Da Poliziano a Monteverdi* (Turin, 1981), pp. 337-460.
- Powell, E. J. and Wallis, K., *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages: A History of the English House of Lords to 1540* (London, 1968).
- Powell and Wallis, *House of Lords* (London, 1968).
- Powicke, Sir M. and Fryde, E.B., eds, *Handbook of British Chronology* (London, 1961).
- Price Zimmerman, T.C., *Paolo Giovio: the historian and the crisis of sixteenth-century Italy* (Princeton, 1995).
- Prisciani, P., *Spectacula*, ed. D. Aguzzi Barbagli (Modena, 1992).
- Prose fiorentine raccolte dallo Smarrito Accademia della Crusca*, 6 vols. (Venice, 1735).
- Prosperi, A., 'Intellettuali e Chiesa all'inizio dell'età moderna', in: *Storia d'Italia. Annali*, 4 (*Intellettuali e potere*), ed. by C. Vivanti (Turin, 1981), pp. 159-252.
- Proto, M., 'Il libertinismo tra scrittura e critica politica', in: Rizzo, G., ed, *Sul romanzo secentesco. Atti dell'Incontro di studio di Lecce (29 novembre 1985)* (Galatina, 1987), pp. 175-179.
- Pugh, T.B., 'The Magnates, Knights, and Gentry', in: Chrimes, S.B., Ross, C.D. and Griffiths, R.A., eds, *Fifteenth-Century England* (London, 1972, ²1995), pp. 86-128.
- Quondam, A., 'Dal Barocco all'Arcadia', in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. VI (Naples, 1970).
- Rabe, H., 'Elemente neuzeitlicher Politik und Staatlichkeit im politische System Karls V', in: Lutz, H., ed, *Das Römisch-Deutsche Reich im politischen System Karls V* (Munich/Vienna, 1982), pp. 161-187.
- Rady, M., *Carlos V* (Madrid, 1991).
- Randall Coats, C., *Subverting the System: D'Aubigné's Calvinism* (Kirksville, Mo., 1990).
- Read, C., *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (Oxford, 1925).
- Reddaway, T.E., 'The King's Mint and Exchange in London', *English Historical Review*, 113 (1967), pp. 16-17.
- Redondo Cantera, M.J. and Zalama, M.A., eds, *Carlos V y las Artes. Promoción artística y familia imperial* (Valladolid, 2000).

- Redondo Veintemillas G. and Navarro Bonilla, D., 'La coronación imperial de 1530 en Bolonia', in: Borrás Gualis and Criador Mainar, *La imagen triunfante*, pp. 87-112.
- Redondo, A., 'El *Discurso sobre Europa* del doctor Laguna (Colonia, 1543), entre la amargura y la esperanza', in: Martínez Millán, *Carlos V*, vol. III, pp. 261-275.
- Redondò, A., *Antonio de Guevara (1480?-1545) et l'Espagne de son temps* (Geneva, 1976).
- Reese, M.M., *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London, 1976).
- Regoliosi, M., 'Lorenzo Valla e la concezione della storia', in *La storiografia umanistica. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Messina, 22-25 ottobre 1987)* (Messina, 1992), vol. I/2, pp. 549-571.
- Relacion de la fyneral pompa en las honras que hizo la muy insigne Vniversidad de Salamanca (...) a la buena memoria y Magestad de la Reyna N.S. Isabel de Borbón* (Salamanca, s.a.).
- Relacion de la svntvosa entrada debaxo de palio en la villa de Madrid, del Rey nuestro Señor Don Felipe Quarto que Dios guarde* (Sevilla, 1621).
- Relacion de las honras que sv Magestad ha hecho a la Reyna nuestra señora doña Isabel de Borbon* (Madrid, 1644).
- Resta, G., 'La cultura umanistica a Milano alla fine del Quattrocento', in: *Milano nell'età di Ludovico il Moro. Atti del convegno internazionale (28-febbraio – 4 marzo 1983)*, vol. 1, (Milan, 1983), pp. 201-214.
- Ribadeneira, Pedro de, *Vida de San Francisco de Borja, que fue duque de Gandía* (Madrid, 1592).
- Riches, S., *St George, Hero Martyr and Myth* (Stroud, 2000).
- Rinaldi, R., *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1990-1993).
- , 'Il teatro volgare nell'Italia del secondo '400', in: Gosman, M. and Walthaus, R., eds, *European Theatre 1470-1600. Traditions and Transformations* (Groningen, 1996), pp. 43-57.
- , 'Il sogno pedagogico del Filarete e i *Convivia mediolanensia* di Francesco Filelfo', *Critica Letteraria*, XXVIII (2000), pp. 3-48.
- , 'Figura principis. Rappresentazioni del potere nella letteratura delle corti padane del Quattrocento', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 3 (2001), pp. 269-285.
- , '*Melancholia Christiana*'. *Studi sulle fonti di Leon Battista Alberti*, (Florence, 2001).
- Ripley, G.: *George Ripley's Compound of Alchymy*, ed. S. Linden (Aldershot, 2001).
- Rizzo, S., ed, *Lorenzo Valla, Orazione per l'inaugurazione dell'anno accademico 1455-1456 : atti di un seminario di filologia* (Rome, 1994).
- Robertson, J., 'L'entrée de Charles Quint à Londres en 1522', in: Jacquot, *Les fêtes*, vol. II, pp. 169-182.
- Rodríguez de Diego, J.L., *Instrucción para el gobierno del archivo de Simancas (1588)* (Madrid, 1989).
- , 'La formación del Archivo de Simancas en el siglo xvi. Función y orden interno', in: López Vidriero, M.L. and Catedra, P.M., eds, *El libro antiguo español. IV. Coleccionismo y bibliotecas. Siglos xv-xviii*, (Salamanca, 1998), pp. 519-557.

- Rogledi Manni, T., *La tipografia a Milano nel XV secolo* (Florence, 1980).
- Rogozinski, J., 'Ennoblement by the Crown and Social Stratification in France 1285-1322: A Prosopographical Survey', in: Jordan, W.C. *et al.*, eds, *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 273-291, 500-515.
- Romani, M.A., ed, *Le Corti farnesiane di Parma e Piacenza, 1545-1622*, vol. 1: *Potere e società nello stato farnesiano* (Rome, 1979).
- Romano, A., 'Antonio De Ferrariis', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1987), vol. XXXIII, pp. 738-741.
- Romano, G., 'La Pala Sforzesca', in Romano, G., Binaghi Olivari M.T. and Collura, D., eds, *Il Maestro della Pala Sforzesca* (Florence 1978), pp. 7-23.
- Rosales, L., *Pasión y muerte del Conde de Villamediana* (Madrid, 1969).
- Rosenberg, C.M., 'Courtly Decorations and the Decorum of interior Space', in: Papagno G. and Quondam, A., eds, *La corte e lo spazio: Ferrara estense* vol. 2 (Rome, 1982), pp. 529-544.
- , 'Arte e politica alla corte di Leonello e Borso d'Este', in: Mottola Molfino, A. and Natale, M., eds, *Le Muse e il Principe. Arte di corte nel Rinascimento padano*, vol. 2 (Modena, 1991), pp. 39-52.
- Rosenberg, E., *Leicester, Patron of Letters* (New York, 1955).
- Rosenthal, E., 'The invention of the columnar device of Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), pp. 198-230.
- , *El palacio de Carlos V en Granada* (Madrid, 1988).
- , *La catedral de Granada. Un estudio sobre el Renacimiento español* (Granada, 1990).
- Rosenthal, J.T., ed, *Nobles and the Noble Life* (London, 1976).
- Roth, G., ed, *Peter Eschenloer, Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*, 2 vols. (Münster, etc. 2003).
- Rotondi Sacchi Tarugi, L., ed, *Pio II e la cultura del suo tempo. Atti del I Convegno Internazionale 1989* (Milan, 1991).
- Rotondò, A., 'Pellegriano Prisciani (1435 ca.-1518)', *Rinascimento*, XI, (1960), pp. 69-110.
- Rowe, T.G., 'The Tragedy of E.S. Piccolomini, Pope Pius II', *Church History* 30 (1961), pp. 288-313.
- Rowland, I.D., *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge, 1998).
- Ruiz Martín, F., 'Carlos V en Italia (1529-1530)', in: Belenguer Cebriá, *De la unión de Coronas*, vol. III, pp. 537-535.
- Ryder, A., *The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous. The making of a modern state* (Oxford, 1976).
- Saavedra Fajardo, D., *Empresas políticas. Idea de un príncipe político cristiano* (Q. Aldea Vaquero, ed.; Madrid, 1976).
- Sabatini, F., *Napoli angioina. Cultura e società* (Naples, 1975).
- Sabbadini, R., *Vita di Guarino Veronese* (Genova, 1891) reprint in: Sabbadini, R., *Guariniana* (Turin, 1964).
- Salerno, L., Spezzaferro, L. and Tafuri, M., *Via Giulia, una utopia urbanistica* (Rome, 1973).

- Sánchez Ortega, M., *The Empress, the Queen and the Nun. Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore/London, 1998).
- Sánchez-Montes, J., *Franceses, protestantes, turcos. Los españoles ante la política internacional de Carlos V* (Granada, 1995; fac-simile ed. with an introduction by J.L. Castellano).
- Sandal, E., *Editori e tipografi a Milano nel Cinquecento* (Baden-Baden, 1977-1988), 4 vols (vol. 4: *L'arte della stampa a Milano nell'età di Carlo V. Notizie storiche e annali tipografici, 1526-1566*).
- Sandoval, P. de, *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V*, vol. II (Madrid, 1956).
- Santa Cruz, A., *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V*, 2 vols (Madrid, 1917).
- Santoro, C., *Gli Sforza* (Milan, 1968).
- Santoro, M., 'La cultura umanistica', in *Storia di Napoli* (Naples, 1974), vol. IV/2, pp. 317-498.
- Sauerbrei, J., *Diatriben Academicam de Foeminam eruditione, priorem consensu inclutae Facultatis Philosophicae in alma Lipsiensi, sub praesidio...M. Jacobi Thomasi [with part II: response by Jakob Smalcius]* (Leipzig, 1671).
- Saul, N., *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1981).
- Saunders Magurn, R. (ed.), *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).
- Savonarola, M., *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este*, ed. M.A. Mastronardi (Bari, 1996).
- Scalici, G., *La Città del Sole di Campanella e il pensiero utopistico fra '500 e '600* (Turin, 1992).
- Schleicher, E., 'Heráldica y origen de la nobleza de los Austrias en la Biblioteca de El Escorial', *Reales Sitios* 103 (1990), pp. 49-56.
- Schmidt, M.F., 'Les fêtes en l'honneur de l'entrée à Madrid de Marianne d'Autriche, seconde épouse du roi Philippe IV d'Espagne, d'après les Cortes del León y del Águila de Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón (1650?)', in I. Mamczarz, ed, *Problèmes, interférences des genres au théâtre et les fêtes en Europe* (Paris, 1985), pp. 87-102.
- Scorza, R., 'Vincenzo Borghini and "Invenzione": The Florentine apparatus of 1565', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981), pp. 57-75.
- , 'A new drawing for the Florentine Apparato of 1565: Borghini, Butteri and the Tuscan Poets', *Burlington Magazine* 127 (1985), pp. 887-890.
- Seco Serrano, C., ed, *Epistolario español. Cartas de Sor María de Jesús de Ágreda y de Felipe IV* (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Madrid, 1958).
- Secreta secretorum cum glossis et notulis Fratris Rogeri*, ed. R. Steele (Oxford, 1920).
- Seeber, N., *Enea Vergilianus: Vergilisches in den 'Kommentaren' des Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II.)* (Innsbruck, 1997).
- Segunda relacion de los casamientos del Príncipe de las Españas, nuestro señor don Felipe Quarto deste nombre, con la serenissima Madama Ysabel de Bourbon* (Sevilla, 1615).

- Serrano Marques, M., 'Las otras coronaciones. Representaciones de la Jornada de Bolonia en los palacios italianos', in: Borrás Gualis and Criador Mainar, *La imagen triunfante*, pp. 113-141.
- Shaw, C., *Julius II: The Warrior Pope* (Oxford, 1993).
- Shaw, W.M. *The Knights of England*, 2 vols. (London, 1906, repr, 1971).
- Simón Díaz, J., *Relaciones breves de actos públicos celebrados en Madrid de 1541 a 1650* (Madrid, 1982).
- Simoneta, J., *Historia de rebus gestis Francisci primi Sfortiae Vicecomitis Mediolanensium Ducis*, ed. G. Soranzo, in: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 2^a ed, XXI, 2 (Bologna, 1932-1959).
- Simonetta, C., *I diari*, ed. A. Natale (Milan, 1962).
- Singer, D., *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols (Brussels, 1930).
- Smuts, R.M., *Court Culture and the Origins of Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, 1987).
- Solaro, G., *Lucrezio. Biografie umanistiche* (Bari, 2000).
- Solmi, E., *Scritti vinciani. Le fonti dei Manoscritti di Leonardo da Vinci e altri studi* (Florence, 1976).
- Soman, A., 'Press, Pulpit, and Censorship in France before Richelieu', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 120 (1976), pp. 439-463.
- Soons, A., *Juan de Mariana* (Boston, 1982).
- Soria, F., *Memorie storico-critiche degli storici napoletani* (Naples, 1781; repr. Bologna, 1976).
- Soto Caba, V., *Los catafalcos reales del barroco español* (Madrid, 1991).
- Starkey, D., 'Introduction: Court history in perspective', and 'Intimacy and Innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber', in: Starkey, D., ed, *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), pp. 1-24, 71-118.
- , 'Tudor Government: The Facts', *Historical Journal* 31 (1988), pp. 921-931.
- , 'Court, Council, and Nobility in Tudor England', in: Asch, R. and Birke, A., eds, *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age* (London, 1991), pp. 175-204.
- , ed, *Henry VIII: A European Court in England* (New York, 1991).
- , 'Representation through intimacy: A study in the symbolism of monarchy and Court office in early modern England', in: Guy, *The Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 42-76.
- Starn, R. and Partridge, L., *Arts of Power. Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300-1600* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford, 1992).
- Steane, J.M., *The Archaeology of Power: England and Northern Europe, 800-1600* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, England/Charleston, S.C., U.S.A., 2001).
- Stegmann, A., 'La Corte, saggio di definizione teorica', in: Romani *Le Corti farnesiane*, vol. 1, pp. xxi-xxvi.
- Stevenson, J. and Davidson, P., eds, *Early Modern Women Poets* (Oxford, 2001).
- Stevenson, J., 'Mildred Cecil, Lady Burleigh: poetry, politics and Protestantism', *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers of the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*, Victoria Burke and Jonathan Gibson, eds (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 51-73.
- Stinger, C., *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, 1985).

- Stone, L., *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford, 1965).
- Stone, L.W. and Rothwell, W., *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, 7 fascicles (London, 1977-1992).
- Stradling, R.A., *Philip IV and the Government of Spain 1621-1665* (Cambridge/New York/New Rochelle/Melbourne/Sydney, 1988).
- Strong, R. [C.], *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London, 1977).
- Strong, R., *Arte y poder* (Madrid, 1988).
- Strong, R.C. and Van Dorsten, J.A., *Leicester's Triumph* (Leiden/London, 1964).
- Sutton, A.F. and Visser-Fuchs, L., "'Most Benevolent Queen": Queen Elizabeth Woodville's Reputation, her Piety and her Books', *The Ricardian* (1995), pp. 214-245.
- Szulakowska, U., 'The Pseudo-Lullian Origins of George Ripley's Maps and Routes as developed by Michael Maier', *Cosmos*, 9 (1993), pp. 107-123.
- Tallarigo, C.M., *Giovanni Pontano e i suoi tempi* (Naples, 1874).
- Tasso, Torquato, *Tre scritti politici*, ed. by L. Firpo (Turin, 1980).
- , *Dialoghi*, ed. by B. Basile (Milan, 1991).
- Tate, R.B., 'El cronista real castellano durante el siglo quince', in: *Homenaje a Pedro Sainz Rodríguez* (Madrid, 1986), vol. III, 659-68.
- , 'Alfonso de Palencia and his Antiguédades de España', in: *The Age of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474-1516. Literary Studies in Memory of Keith Whinnom*, eds. A. Deyermund and I. Macpherson (Liverpool, 1989), pp. 193-196.
- , 'Mythology in Spanish historiography of the Middle Ages and Renaissance', *Hispanic Review* 22 (1954), pp. 1-18.
- Tateo, F., *Tradizione e realtà nell'Umanesimo italiano* (Bari, 1967).
- , *Umanesimo etico di Giovanni Pontano* (Lecce, 1972).
- , 'L'Umanesimo meridionale', in *Letteratura Italiana Laterza* (Bari, 1972).
- , 'La cultura letteraria in Puglia nell'età barocca', in: *La Puglia tra Barocco e Rococò* (Milan, 1982), pp. 321-344.
- , *Chierici e feudatari del Mezzogiorno* (Rome/Bari, 1984).
- , *I miti della storiografia umanistica* (Rome, 1990).
- , 'Le armi e le lettere in una disputa fra Agostino Nifo e Luca Prassicio', in: Avellini, L., ed, *Sapere e potere. Discipline, dispute e professioni nell'Università medievale e moderna. Il caso bolognese a confronto. Atti del 4° Convegno (Bologna, 13-15 aprile 1989)*, vol. I (Bologna, 1990), pp. 85-99.
- , 'Sulle traduzioni umanistiche di Plutarco. Il *De virtute morali* di Andrea Matteo Acquaviva', in: Ciliberto, M. and Vasoli, C., eds, *Filosofia e cultura. Per Eugenio Garin* (Rome, 1991), vol. I, pp. 195-214.
- , 'Le armi e le lettere. Per la storia di un *tópos* umanistico', in: Dalzell, A., Fantazzi, Ch. and Schoeck, R.J., eds, *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis (Toronto, 8-13 august 1988)* (New York, 1991), pp. 63-81.
- , 'La storiografia umanistica nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia', in *La storiografia umanistica. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Messina, 22-25 ottobre 1987)* (Messina, 1992), vol. I/2, pp. 501-548.
- , 'Primato del *sermo* e cornice etica nella narrativa umanistica', in *Favole, parabole, istorie. Le forme della scrittura novellistica dal Medioevo al*

- Rinascimento. Atti del Convegno di Pisa (26-28 ottobre 1998)* (Rome, 2000), pp. 558-568.
- , *I nostri umanisti. Il contributo pugliese al Rinascimento* (Fasano, 2002).
- , 'Le *Istorie del Regno di Napoli* di Pandolfo Collenuccio. Principi a confronto' in *Il Principe e la Storia. Atti del Convegno di Scandiano (18-20 settembre 2003)* (Novara, in print).
- Teatro del Quattrocento. Le corti padane*, ed. A. Tissoni Benvenuti and M.P. Mussini Sacchi (Turin, 1983).
- Teeter Dobbs, B.J., *The Foundations of Newton's Alchemy or the Hunting of the Green Lion* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Tellechea Idígadoras, J.L., *Así murió el Emperador* (Salamanca, 1995).
- Tenenti, A., 'Aspetti del settentrione rinascimentale nel Quattrocento', in: Chiavoni, L., Ferlisi, G., and Grassi, M.V., eds, *Leon Battista Alberti e il Quattrocento. Studi in onore di Cecil Grayson e Ernst Gombrich* (Florence, 2001), pp. 7-14.
- , 'La Corte nella storia dell'Europa moderna (1300-1700)', in: Romani, *Le Corti farnesiane*, vol. 1, pp. ix-xix.
- Tennenhouse, T., *Power on Display: the Politics of Shakespeare's Genres* (New York/London, 1986).
- Terlinden, C., *La Toison d'Or. Cinq Siècles d'art et d'histoire* (Bruges, 1962).
- Terlinden, vicomte, 'La politique italienne de Charles Quint et le 'triomphe' de Bologne', in: Jacquot, *Les fêtes*, pp. 30-38.
- Thiem, C and Thiem, G., *Toskanische Fassaden-Dekoration in Sgraffito und Fresko. 14. Bis 17. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1964).
- Thorndike, L., *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1941).
- Tissoni Benvenuti, A., 'Il teatro volgare nella Milano sforzesca', in: *Milano nell'età di Ludovico il Moro. Atti del convegno internazionale (28 febbraio – 4 marzo 1983)*, vol. I (Milan, 1983), pp. 333-351.
- , *L'Orfeo del Poliziano con il testo critico dell'originale e delle successive forme teatrali* (Padua, 1986).
- Toppi, N., *Biblioteca Napoletana* (Naples, 1678; repr. Bologna, 1971).
- Toscano, T.R., *Letterati, corti, accademie. La letteratura a Napoli nella prima metà del Cinquecento* (Naples, 2000).
- , 'Le Muse e i Colossi apogeo e tramonto dell'Humanesimo politico napoletano nel 'trionfo' di Carlo V (1535)', in: : Martínez Millán, *Carlos V*, vol. III, pp. 301-309.
- Tout, T.F., *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England* (6 vols., Manchester, 1920-33).
- Tovar Martín, V., *El Barroco efímero y la fiesta popular. La entrada triunfal en el Madrid del siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1985).
- Treves, P., *La filosofia politica di Tommaso Campanella* (Bari, 1930).
- Turba, G., 'Galeotto del Carretto tra Casale e Mantova', *Rinascimento*, n. s., XI (1971), pp. 95-169.
- Twining, Lord, *European Regalia* (London, 1967).
- Utenhove, Karel [Carolus]., *Caroli Utenhovii F. patricii Gandavensis XENIA seu ad illustrium aliquot Europae hominum nomina, Allusionum (intertextis alicubi Ioach. Bellaii eiusdem arumenti versibus), liber primus* (Basel: T. Guarinus Nervius, 1568).

- Vale, M., *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford, 2001).
- Valerio, S., *Un intellettuale tra petrarchismo e 'institutio principis'. Paolo Paladino alla corte di re Federico d'Aragona* (Pisa/Rome, 2001).
- Valori, Filippo, *I termini di mezzo rilievo e d'intera dottrina tra gli archi di casa Valori in Firenze, Col sommario della vita d'alcuni. Compendio dell'Opere de gl'altri. E indizio di tutti gl'aggiunti nel Discorso dell'Eccelesenza degli Scrittori, e Nobilà` de gli Studi Fiorentini* (Florence, 1604).
- Van Dorsten, J.A., *The Radical Arts: First Decade of an Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden/London, 1970).
- , 'Mr Secretary Cecil: Patron of Letters', in: Van Dorsten, J.A., *The Anglo-Dutch Renaissance: Seven Essays* (Leiden/London, 1988), pp. 28-37.
- Van Heck, Adriano, 'Amator uetusti ritus et obseruator diligens. Stile e modelli stilistiche di Pio II', in: Rotondi Secchi Tarugi, *Pio II*, pp. 119-132.
- Van Veen, H.T., *Cosimo de' Medici. Vorst en republikein. Een studie naar het heersers-*imago van de eerste groothertog van Toscana (1537-1574)** (Amsterdam, 1998).
- Vandenesse, Jean, 'Journal des voyages du Philippe II', in: Gachard, L.P., ed, *Collections des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, vols. II, IV (Brussels, 1882).
- Varese, R., 'Proposte per Schifanoia', in: Papagno and Quondam, *La corte e lo spazio*, vol. 2, pp. 545-562.
- Varey, J.E., and Salazar, A.M., 'Calderón and the Royal Entry of 1649', *Hispanic Review*, XXXIV (1966), pp. 1-26.
- Varey, J.E., 'Motifs artistiques dans l'Entrée de Marianne d'Autriche à Madrid en 1649', *Baroque*, 5 (1972), pp. 89-95.
- Vasari, Giorgio: *Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. G. Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence 1878-1885).
- Vasoli, C., 'Giovanni Pontano', in: *Letteratura italiana. I minori* (Milan, 1961), vol. III, pp. 597-625.
- , *La dialettica e la retorica dell'Umanesimo. 'Invenzione' e 'Metodo' nella cultura del XV e XVI secolo* (Milan, 1968).
- , *La cultura delle Corti* (Bologna, 1980).
- , 'Il *De educatione* di Antonio Galateo de Ferrariis', *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 36 (1988), pp. 23-82.
- Velli, G., *Tra lettura e creazione. Sannazaro, Alfieri, Foscolo* (Padua, 1983).
- Vergara, A., *Rubens and his Spanish Patrons* (Cambridge/New York/Melbourne, 1999).
- Vermeulen, A.J., *The semantic development of Gloria in early-Christian Latin* (Nijmegen, 1956).
- Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol I (Stuttgart, 1984).
- Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV* (c.1485), transl. into German by B. Roeck, *Große Männer und Frauen der Renaissance* (Munich, 1995).
- Vian Herrero, A., *El dialogo de Lactancio y un arcediano de Alfonso de Valdés: obra de circunstancias y diálogo literario* (Toulouse, 1994).
- Vicente Maroto, M.I. and Esteban Piñeiro, M., *Aspectos de la ciencia aplicada en la*

- España del siglo de oro* (Valladolid, 1991).
- Villamediana, Conde de, *La gloria de Niquea* (F.B. Pedraza Jiménez, ed.; Almagro, 1992).
- Villari, P., ed, *Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian: Ambasciatore veneto in Roma dal 1502 al 1505*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1876).
- Visceglia, M.A., 'Il viaggio cerimoniale di Carlo V dopo Tunisi', in: Martínez Millán, *Carlos V*, vol. II, pp. 133-172.
- Vital, L., 'De su fortuna e infortunio dependía todo el bien o el mal de la mayoría de la Cristiandad', in: García Mercadal, J., ed, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. I (Madrid, 1952), pp. 127-152.
- , *Relación del primer viaje de Carlos V a España* (Madrid, 1958).
- Vivens Vives, J., 'Imperio y administración en tiempos de Carlos V', in: *Charles-Quint et son temps* (Paris 1960), pp. 9-20.
- Viviani, V., *Storia del teatro napoletano* (Naples, 1969), pp. 81-194.
- Voigt, G., *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Italienischen Humanismus*, 2 vols. (Berlin, ⁴1960).
- Von Albrecht, M., 'M. Tullius Cicero: Sprache und Stil' in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung. Supplementband XIII* (Munich, 1973), cols. 1237-1347.
- , *Cicero's Style. A Synopsis Followed by Selected Analytic Studies* (Leiden, 2003).
- Von Klarwill, V., ed, *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners, being an series of hitherto unpublished letters from the archive of the Hapsburg Family* (London, 1928).
- Von Martels, Z. R. W. M., 'The Kaleidoscope of the Past: Reflections on the Reception and Cultural implications of the Term *studia humanitatis*', in: Dorleijn, G.J. and Vanstiphout, H.L.J., eds, *Cultural Repertoires. Structure, Function and Dynamics* (Louvain, 2003), pp. 87-104.
- , 'The *Studia humanitatis* and the *Studia divina*: the Role of Ethics and the Authority of Antiquity', in: Von Martels, Z.R.W.M. and Schmidt, V.M., eds, *Antiquity Renewed. Late-Classical and Early-Modern themes* (Louvain, 2003), pp. 185-210.
- , 'The Central Position of the Authors of Late Antiquity in Humanist Thought: the Case of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini', in: Schnur, R., Charlet, J.L. et al., eds, *Acta conventus Neo-Latini Cantabrigiensis. Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies. Cambridge 30 July - 5 August 2000* (Tempe, Arizona 2003), pp. 603-610.
- , 'More Matter and Less Art. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and the Delicate Balance between Eloquent Words and Deeds', in: Von Martels and Vanderjagt, *Pius II – el piu expeditivo pontefice*, pp. 205-227.
- , 'The Fruit of Love. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini about his Illegitimate Child', in: Von Martels and Vanderjagt, *Pius II – el piu expeditivo pontefice*, pp. 229-248.
- Von Martels, Z.R.W.M. and Vanderjagt, A.J., eds, *Pius II – el più expeditivo pontefice. Selected studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini* (Leiden, 2003).
- Von Moos, S., 'The palace as a fortress: Rome and Bologna under Pope Julius II', in: Millon, H. A. and Nochlin, L., eds, *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics* (London, 1978), pp. 46-79.

- Wagner, A.R. and Herald, R., *Heralds & Heraldry in the Middle Ages: An Enquiry into the Growth of the Armorial Function of Heraldry* (Oxford, 2nd 1956).
- Wagner, Sir A., Garter Principal King of Arms, *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London, 1967).
- Wallace-Hadrill, A., *Suetonius. The Scholar and his Caesars* (New Haven, 1983).
- Waltheus, R., “‘Representar tragedias así la Fortuna sabe’”. La representación de Fortuna en dos comedias tempranas de Calderón (*Saber del mal y del bien y La gran Cenobia*), in Arellano, I., ed, *Calderón 2000* (Kassel, 2002), pp. 397-409.
- Walther, A., *Die Anfänge Karls V* (Leipzig, 1911).
- Warburg, A., *La rinascita del paganesimo antico*, ed. and transl. by G. Bing and E. Cantimori (Florence, 1966).
- Wauters, A., *Mémoires de Viglius* (Brussels, 1858).
- Wedgwood, J.C., *History of Parliament: biographies of Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509* (London, 1936).
- , *History of Parliament: Register of the Ministers and of the Members of Both Houses, 1439-1509* (London, 1938).
- , *History of Parliament, 1386-1421*, ed. by J. S. Roskell, L. Clarke and C. Rawcliffe, 4 vols. (London, 1993).
- Weiss, R., ‘The Medals of Pope Julius II (1503-1513)’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld* 28 (1965), pp. 163-182.
- Weissmann, R., *Ritual Brotherhood in Florence* (New York/London, 1982).
- Welch, E.S., *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven, 1995).
- , ‘The Gonzaga go shopping: commercial and cultural Relationships between Milan and Mantua in the Fifteenth Century’, in: Chiavoni, L., Ferlisi, G., and Grassi, M.V., eds, *Leon Battista Alberti e il Quattrocento. Studi in onore di Cecil Grayson e Ernst Gombrich* (Florence, 2001), pp. 269-284.
- Wickham Legg, L.G., *English Coronation Records* (London/New York, 1901).
- Widmer, Berthe, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini in der sittlichen und politischen Entscheidung* (Basel/Stuttgart, 1963).
- Williams, N., *Henry VIII and his Court* (London, 1971).
- Williams, R., ‘The Façade of the Palazzo dei ‘Visacci’’, *I Tatti-Studies, Essays in the Renaissance* 5 (1993), pp. 220-243.
- , ‘The Sala Grande in the Palazzo Vecchio and the Precedence Controversy between Florence and Ferrara’, in: Jacks, P., ed, *Vasari’s Florence. Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court* (Cambridge/New York 1998), pp. 163-182.
- Williamson, J.A. and Skelton, R.A., *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 23, 228.
- Wilson, E.C., *England’s Eliza* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939).
- Witt, R., ‘In the Footstep
s of the Ancients’. The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Brunni (Leiden, 2000).
- Wolkan, R., ed, *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, 61 (Vienna, 1909), 62 (Vienna, 1909), 67 (Vienna, 1912), 68 (Vienna, 1918).
- Wright, P., ‘A Change in Direction: the Ramification of a Female Household, 1558–1603’, in: Starkey, D. et al., eds, *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London/New York, 1987), pp. 147-172.

- Yarza Luaces, J., 'Política artística de Fernando el Católico', in: Belenguer Cebriá, *De la unión de Coronas*, vol. III, pp. 15-29.
- Yates, F., 'Charles Quint et l'idée de l'empire', in: Jacquot, *Les fêtes*, pp. 57-97.
- Yates, F., *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975).
- Young, A., *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London, 1987).
- Zapperi, R., *Don Scipio di Castro. Storia di un impostore* (Assisi/Rome, 1977).
- , 'Scipione di Castro', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. XXII (Roma, 1979), pp. 233-245.
- Zevi, B., *Saper vedere l'urbanistica. Ferrara di Biagio Rossetti, la prima città moderna europea* (Turin, 1971).
- Zimolo, G.C., ed. and comm., *Le Vite di Pio II di Giovanni Antonio Campano e Bartolomeo Platina* (Bologna 1964).
- Zorzi, L., *Il teatro e la città. Saggi sulla scena italiana* (Turin, 1977).

INDEX

- Abel, 304
Accetto, Torquato, 90; *Della dissimulazione onesta*, 90
Acciaiuoli, Vincenzo, 72
Acquaviva, Belisario, 89; *Aforismi politici*, 92
Adrian, bishop of Utrecht, 228
Adriani, Giovanni Battista, 267
Adriani, Marcello, 69-70, 75-76; *Lezioni sopra l'educazione della Nobiltà Fiorentina*, 70
Aeneas; see Pius II
Agostino da Vimercate, 29
Agricola Phrisius, Rodolphus, 33
Albert of Austria, 268
Alberti, Leon Battista, 31-32, 38, 40, 82-84; *Philodoxeos fabula*, 32; *De equo animante*, 32; *Theogenius*, 32; *Momus sive de principe*, 32, 83; *De re aedificatoria*, 40
Alcuin, 251
Alexander the Great, 9, 23-24, 82, 84-85, 99-100, 250
Alexander VI, pope, 18, 23, 28, 31, 34
Alfonso of Aragon, 26
Alfonso X, king of Castile, 251, 263; *Crónica general*, 263
Alfonso the Magnanimous, king, 80-82, 87
Alfonso, duke of Calabria, 82
Alvarez, Vicente, 260; *Relation du beau voyage*, 260
Amadís de Grecia, 280
Ambrosius, 7; *De officiis ministrorum libri tres*, 7
Ammanati, Jacopo, 20
Ammirato, Scipione, 63-64, 76, 78, 90; *Delle famiglie nobili fiorentine*, 64; *Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito*, 90
Angelo di Costanza, 88
Angeriano, Girolamo, 88; *De miseria principum*, 88
Anne of Austria, 284
Anne of Bohemia, princess, 101
Anne of Cleves, 142, 151
Antonio de Lalaing, 228
Aretino, Pietro, 89
Argensola, Leonardo de, 261
Argentine, John, physician, 126
Ariano di Puglia, 88
Arias de Loyola, 270
Ariosto, Ludovico, 33-34, 41, 203, 205-206
Aristides, 71
Aristotle, 9, 99; *Secreta secretorum*, 99, 103, 110
Armenini, Giovanni Battista, 72-73; *De' veri precetti della pittura*, 73
Artemisia, 301
Arthur, king 103, 106, 108-109, 111, 113-114, 123, 126, 129, 141, 158, 162, 165, 181, 205
Ascham, Roger, 198-199, 201
Attendolo, Muzio, 26
Augustine, St., 2
Augustus, emperor, 206
Aurispa, Giovanni, 31
Avellaneda, Bernardino de, 267
Averlino, Antonio, 36; see Filarete
Avila, Teresa de, 256
Baccio del Bianco, 282
Bacon, Anne, 198
Bacon, Francis, 198, 207
Bacon, Nicholas, 198
Bacon, Roger, 99, 108, 110
Baltasar Carlos, son of Philip IV, 284
Bandini, Giovanni, 73
Bánfi, Miklós, 213
Barbaro, Francesco, 7; *De re uxoria*, 7

- Barker, Robert, 108, 123
- Basini, Basinio, 31, 33; *Meleagridos*, 31; *Epistola*, 31
- Basso, Girolamo, cardinal, 27
- Baudius, 201
- Beale, Robert, 192; *Treatise of the Office of a Councillor and Secretary to her Majesty*, 192
- Beatrice of Aragón, wife of king Matthias 213-216, 219-223, 225
- Beaufort, Lady Margaret, 126, 140
- Becket, Thomas, archbishop, 98
- Bellincioni, Bernardo, 35
- Bellini, Jacopo, 39
- Benivieni, Antonio, 69, 72; *Vita di Pier Vettori l'Antico*, 72
- Bere, Richard, abbot, 99
- Bernard van Orley, 231
- Black Book of the Household*, 175, 179, 182
- Boccaccio, Giovanni, 73, 86, 94; *De varietate fortunae*, 86; *Decameron*, 94
- Bocchi, Francesco, 75; *Elogiorum, quibus viri Clarissimi nati Florentiae decorantur*, 75
- Boethius, 200; *Consolation of Philosophy*, 200
- Boiardo, Matteo Maria, 33-34, 86
- Boleyn, Anne, 141, 177, 195, 199
- Boleyn, Thomas, 136, 142, 149, 178
- Bona di Savoia, 24, 28
- Bonfini, Antonius, 214, 221; *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, 214, 222; *Symposion de virginitate et pudicitia coniugali*, 214
- Borghini, Vincenzo, 67-70, 72-73, 75-76; *Discorso intorno al modo di fare gli alberi delle famiglie nobili fiorentine*, 69; *Storia della Nobiltà Fiorentina*, 68-69
- Borgia, Cesare, 18
- Borgia, Girolamo, 88; *De bello neapolitano*, 88
- Borgia, Lucrezia, 34
- Borja, Francisco de, 263
- Botero, Giovanni, 89, 271; *Ragion di Stato*, 271
- Braccio da Montone, 85
- Bracciolini, Poggio, 7, 13, 82-83, 85-86, 88-90; *De infelicitate principum*, 85, 88
- Bramante, 29, 32-34, 37
- Brandon, Charles, 139, 141, 149, 177
- Brandon, Eleanor, 197
- Brandon, Sir Thomas, 177
- Breuning von Buchenbach, 209
- Browne, Sir Anthony, 177
- Bruni, Leonardo, 80, 84
- Bruno, Giordano, 91, 93; *Candelaio*, 91
- Brutus, 104, 113, 124
- Buchanan, George, 198, 271; *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, 271
- Burckhardt, Jakob, 2-4, 18-19
- Burckhardt, Johannes, 35
- Burghley, Lady, 194
- Busto, Bernabé de, 255-256; *Empresa y conquista germánica del Emperador Carlos V*, 256; *Noticia de le que pasó en Africa con Hernando de Vega y don Sancho de Leiva*, 256
- Byrd, William, 203
- Cabot (brothers), 128
- Cadwallader, king, 107, 110, 112-113, 124
- Caerlion, Lewis, physician, 126
- Caesar, Julius, 2, 9, 23-25, 83-85, 247, 256; *Commentaries*, 1-2, 256
- Calcagnini, Celio, 33
- Calco, Tristano, 35
- Calderón de la Barca, Pedro, 278, 286-287, 289-290, 295, 298, 300-301, 304-305, 307-318; *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, 295-296, 304-307; *Guárdate del agua mansa*, 304; *La segunda esposa y triunfar muriendo*, 296, 300, 305, 307
- Calderón, Juan Alonso, 286
- Calderón, Rodrigo, 278, 280, 298
- Callisthenes, 9
- Calvete de Estrella, Juan Cristóbal, 247, 260-261; *El felicismo viaje*,

- 260
 Camden, William, 196, 200
 Camillus, 71
 Camõens, Luis de, 308
 Campanella, Tommaso, 91-92; *La città del Sole*, 92; *Atheismus triumphatus*, 92
 Campano, Giovanni Antonio, 1, 85; *De ingratitude fugiendio*, 85
 Campisius, Johannes, 7
 Cantalicio, Giambattista, 86
 Capaccio, Giulio Cesare, 89; *Segretario*, 90
 Capecelatro, Francesco, 88
 Capponi, Gino, 71
 Capponi, Ludovico, 70-71, 74, 77
 Capponi, Neri, 71
 Capponi, Niccolò, 71-72
 Capponi, Piero di Gino, 71-72
 Caracciolo, Tristano, 86, 90; *De varietate fortunæ*, 86
 Carafa, Diomede, 85, 89; *De regis et boni principis officio*, 89
 Carbone, Ludovico, 33; *Facezie*, 33
 Carew, Sir Nicholas, 177
 Carlo de' Dottori, 94
 Carranza, Bartolomé, 245, 248
 Casas, Bartolomé de las, 272-273; *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las indias*, 262
 Castiglione, Baldassar, 34, 81, 89-90; *Libro del cortegiano*, 34
 Catone, Angelo, 85
 Cattaneo, Gian Lucido, 35
 Cecil, Mildred, 194, 198, 201
 Cecil, Robert, 193, 198, 206
 Cecil, William, 198-201
 Charlemagne, 251
 Charles de Poupet, Lord of La Chaulx, 228
 Charles I, king of Spain, 287
 Charles II, king of Spain, 287
 Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, 230
 Charles V, emperor, 141, 148, 227, 230-232, 234-248, 250, 252, 254, 255-262
 Charles VIII, king of France, 31, 79, 87
 Charnock, Thomas, 108, 111
 Cheke, John, 198
 Cheke, Lady Mary, 202
 Chièvres, 228, 236
 Christina of Lorraine, 72
 Christoph, duke of Bavaria, 216-217
 Cicero, 2, 4-12; *De officiis*, 6, 9, 11; *De oratore*, 5, 6, 12-14
 Cisneros, cardinal, 233-234
 Clement VII, pope, 148
 Clifford, Rosamund, 185
 Cobham, Eleanor, 102
 Cobham, Lady, 192
 Cobham, Lord, 192
 Cobos, 234
 Cochlaeus, J., 245
 Cokkes, John, 103
 Colet, John, 144
 Collenuccio, Pandolfo, 33, 86; *Apologhi*, 33; *Compendio delle istorie del regno di Napoli*, 86; *Operette morali*, 87
 Consalvo of Cordoba, 86
 Constantine, emperor, 158, 162, 189
 Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, 245
 Cooke, Anthony, 198
 Corio, Bernardino, 29; *Storia di Milano*, 29
Coronation Roll, 128
 Cosmé Tura, 39
Cosmógrafo y Cronista Mayor de las Indias, 261
 Costabili, Beltrando, 25-26, 31, 36, 39
 Cranmer, Thomas, 151, 186
 Crivelli, Leodrisio, 26, 28; *De vita rebusque gestis Francisci Sphortiae Vicecomitis Mediolanensium Ducis*, 26; *Series triumpho Francisci Sfortiae*, 26
 Croce, Benedetto, 94
 Cromwell, Thomas, 136, 145, 149-151, 156, 173, 179, 189
Crónica de Alfonso X, 251
Crónica de Alfonso XI, 251
Crónica general de Castilla, 251
 Cubillo de Aragón, Álvaro, 304; *Cortes del León y del Águila*, 304; *El enano de las Musas*, 304

- Curti, Lancino, 35
 Cyrus the Great, 251
 Czvitlinger, David, 214; *Specimen Hungariae litteratae*, 214
- D'Este, Alfonso, 25-26, 30-31, 36, 39
 D'Este, Beatrice, 24-25
 D'Este, Borso, 23-24, 27, 31-32, 39
 D'Este, Ercole I, 23, 25, 33-34, 39-40
 D'Este, Francesco, 24
 D'Este, Ippolito, 31, 34
 D'Este, Isabella, 23, 25, 35, 38
 D'Este, Leonello, 23-25, 27, 31-32, 39
 D'Este, Meliaduse, 31
 D'Este, Niccolò III, 23-24, 27-30, 32, 34, 39-40
 Dalton, Thomas, 116, 120
 Dante Alighieri, 25, 73, 84, 243; *Monarchia*, 243, 246
 Dastin, John, 100-103
 Davy, Adam, 104
 Daza, Diego, 240
 De la Marche, Olivier, 236
De laudibus legum Angliae, 137
 De' Grassi, Paride, 25, 34, 36, 38, 40
 De' Medici, Cosimo I the Elder, 63, 80
 De' Medici, Cosimo I, grand duke, 63-69, 71-7, 72, 74, 76-78, 80
 De' Medici, Cosimo II, grand duke, 77
 De' Medici, Ferdinando, 72, 76
 De' Medici, Francesco, 66-67
 De' Medici, Lorenzo (Il Magnifico), 35, 74
 De' Medici, Maria, 284
 Decembrio, Angelo, 32-33; *De politica litteraria variisque poetarum Virgilii laudibus*, 32
 Dell'Antella, Donato, 76
 Dell'Antella, Niccolò, 76; *Ragioni di precedenza a favore dei signori senatori con i signori auditori*, 78
 Della Rovere, Clemente Grosso, cardinal, 26
 Della Rovere, Domenico, archbishop, 27
 Della Rovere, Francesco Maria, son of Giovanni, 28
 Della Rovere, Galeotto Franciotto, cardinal, 26, 32
 Della Rovere, Giovanni, 28
 Della Rovere, Giuliano; see Julius II
 Della Rovere, Sisto; see Sixtus IV
 Delves, John, 116, 120-121
 Demetrius of Macedonia, 95
 Devereux, Robert, 197
Dialogus inter militem et clericum, 148
 Doubelay, John, 100; *Stella Alchemiae*, 101
 Douglas, Margaret, 197
 Dousa, 201
 Du Thou, Jacques Auguste, 200; *Ad Elizabetham Serenissimam Angliae Reginam*, 201
 Dunstan, St., 115
- Edmund, the first Duke of York, 185
 Edmunds, Lady, 193
 Edward II, king of England, 104
 Edward III, king of England, 99-103, 105, 108-110, 132, 139, 152, 160, 162, 165, 169-170, 175, 178, 181-185
 Edward IV, king of England, 98, 105, 110-111, 113, 115-118, 120-124, 127-128, 136, 139-140, 143, 158, 166, 173, 175-177, 179-182, 184
 Edward, prince of Wales, 185
 Edward the Confessor, king of England, 98-99
 Edward VI, king of England, 142, 151, 154, 210
 Edward, duke of Cornwall, 142
 Edward, earl of March, 110
 Eleanor of Castile, 185
 Elizabeth I, queen of England, 127, 142, 191-210, 271
 Elizabeth of York, 126
 Elizabeth Plantagenet of York, 141, 163
 Enrique III, king of Castile, 251
 Enrique IV, king of Spain, 158

- Epaminondas, 71
 Equicola, Mario, 34; *Libro de natura d'amore*, 34
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 28, 82, 144, 229, 233, 235, 237, 239-240, 247; *Institutio principis christiani*, 233, 247; *Philosophia Christi*, 237; *Julius Exclusus*, 28, 86; *Adagia*, 92
 Ercole de' Roberti, 39
 Erghome, John, 110
 Eschenloer, Peter, 213-226; *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau (Historia Wratislaviensis)*, 214
 Esquivel, Pedro de, 260
Excelencias de los nombres de Philipo, y de Maria-Anna, y del numero Quarto, por serlo V, 285
 Eysenreich, Lucas, 215

 Fabriano, Lodovico, 31, 34
Fabula de Cefalo e Procris, 40
 Facio, Bartolomeo, 83
 Fancelli, Luca, 38
 Farinata degli Uberti, 71
 Federico da Montefeltro, 23, 32
 Federico della Valle, 94
 Ferdinand I, emperor, 199
 Ferdinand III, emperor, 284
 Ferdinand of Aragon, king 85, 228, 234, 236, 244, 252-253, 266
 Fermor of Somerton, Thomas, 193
 Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo, 252-253, 255; *Libro de la cámara real*, 253; *Historia natural y general de las Indias*, 255
 Ferrante of Aragón, king of Naples, 213
 Ferreri, Antonio, cardinal, 38
 Ferruccio, Francesco, 71
 Ficino, Marsilio, 73, 102; *Corpus Hermeticorum*, 102
 Filarete, 36; *Trattato di architettura*, 36
 Filelfo, Francesco, 26, 35; *Sphortias*, 26
 Finch, Elizabeth, 210
 Fitzroy, Henry, 142, 195
 Floris of Egmond, 234
Florisel de Niquea, 280

 Fociones, 71
 Fontana, Julio César, 280
 Foppa, Ambrogio, 36
 Forner, Juan Pablo, 275
 Fortescue, John, 121, 137, 209; *De natura*, 122
 Fox, Richard, 136, 146
 Fra Domingo de Soto, 246
 Fra Pedro de Soto, 245
 Francesco Dal Pozzo, 29
 Francesco de Lemene, 94
 Francesco del Cossa, 39
 Francis I, king of France, 141, 145, 147, 148, 237, 240
 Francis of Burgundy, 247
 Francisco de los Cobos, 234, 241, 248
 Frederic of Aragon, king, 85, 87
 Frederick II, emperor, 132
 Frederick III, emperor, 26-27, 215, 226
 Frederick of Würtemberg, duke, 209
 Fresneda, Bernardo de, 262
 Frulovisi, Livio, 133
 Fulvio, Andrea, 155

 Gabriel of Erlau, bishop, 220
 Gadio, Statio, 26
 Galateo, Antonio, 86, 89-90; *De nobilitate*, 86; *Eremita*, 86
 Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo, 252, 256
 García de Santa María, Alvar, 263; *Crónica de Juan II*, 263
 Vega, Garcilaso de la, 235, 302
 Garibay y Zamalloa, Esteban de, 266, 271-273; *Los xl libros*, 266; *Traça y orden para la chronica del Catholoco Rey Nuestro Señor Don Phelipe el Segundo, y apuntamientos de matherias por sus años*, 271; *Memorias*, 272
 Gattinara, Mercurino Arborio, 237-238, 240
 Gaurico, Luca, 33
 Gaza, Teodoro, 31, 33
 Gelasius, 86
Gemma salutaris, 105, 126

- Geoffrey of Monmouth, 106-107; *Historia Regum Britannicum*, 106
- George of Podiebrad, 213, 223
- George von Helffenstein, 199
- George, St. 115, 117
- Gevaerts, Jan Caspar, 281
- Gheeraerts, Marcus, 210
- Giacomini, Antonio, 70-71
- Giacomini, Lorenzo, 69
- Gian Pietro della Viola, 40; *Rapresentazione di Febo e di Feton*, 40
- Giordani, Giulio, 89
- Giovan Battista della Porta, 89, 91-92
- Giovanna II, queen of Sicily, 80
- Giovanni da San Giovanni, 77
- Giovio, Paolo, 256
- Girolamo di Conestaggio, 270
- Giubba, Antonio, 38
- Giuliano da Sangallo, 26-27
- Giustiniani, Pietro, 268
- Glad, Rasmus, 200; *Margaretica*, 200
- Gómez de Mora, Juan, 289
- Gonzaga Colonna, Vespasiano, 267
- Gonzaga, Francesco, 25-26, 30, 34-35, 37
- Gonzaga, Giovanni, 37
- Gonzaga, Isabella, 34, 38
- Gonzaga, Ludovico, 25, 38
- Gonzaga, Margherita, 25
- Gonzaga, Susanna, 25
- Gorges, Sir Arthur, 206
- Gottardo da Ponte, 29
- Gracián, Baltasar, 263
- Granvelle, cardinal, 262
- Grey, Katherine, 197
- Guarini, Guarino, 30-33
- Guazzo, Stefano, 81
- Guevara, Antonio de, 236, 255; *The Golden Book of Mark Anthony*, 236; *Disdain for the Court and praise for the village*, 236; *Relox de Principes*, 236
- Guicciardini, Francesco, 88; *Storia d'Italia*, 88
- Guidobaldo da Montefeltre, 28
- Guildford, Sir Henry, 177
- Guillaume Van Male, 256
- Gutiérrez de Cetina, 235
- Guzmán y Pimentel, Gaspar de, 278
- Haddon, Walter, 201
- Hameton, Philip, 228
- Haner, Georg Jeremias, 214; *De scriptoribus rerum hungaricarum*, 214
- Hannibal, 6
- Hardyng, chronicler, 114
- Harington, John, 202
- Hastings, Lord William, 116, 126, 179
- Hatton, Sir Christopher, 194, 207
- Haunolt, Johannes, 215
- Henri II, king of France, 195, 209
- Henri IV, king of France, 200
- Henry II, king of England, 98-99
- Henry III, king of England, 98-99
- Henry IV, king of England, 98, 102
- Henry IV, king of France, 284
- Henry of Richmond, 140
- Henry V, king of England, 102-106, 108, 110-111, 113, 129-190
- Henry VI, king of England, 102-106, 108, 110-111, 113, 116, 121
- Henry VII, king of England, 111, 129-190
- Henry VIII, king of England, 129-190, 195, 197, 203, 209, 234
- Heraldry and the Origin of the Nobility of the Austrias*, 246
- Herbert, Thomas, 120
- Herd, John, 201
- Hermes Trismegistus, 97, 100, 102
- Hernando de Acuña, 241
- Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio, 266-267, 270-271; *Historia general del mundo*, 273; *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar oceano*, 273; *Historia de los sucesos de Francia*, 273; *Información en hecho y relación de lo que pasó a Milan*, 273; *Comentarios de las alteraciones de Flandes*, 273; *Historia de la guerra entre*

- Turcos y Persianos*, 273
- Hexham, John, 102
- Hoby, Sir Thomas, 202
- Holbein, Hans, 156
- Horace, 200; *Ars Poetica*, 200
- Howard, Henry, 201
- Howard, Katherine, 142, 151
- Howard, Lady Mary, 210
- Howard, Lord Edmund, 142
- Howard, Philip, first earl of Arundel, 198
- Howard, Thomas, 135, 169, 176-177
- Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, 102-103, 108, 111
- Hunyadi, Johannes, king of Hungary, 213
- Hurtado de Mendoza, Antonio, 280; *Fiesta que se hizo en Aranjuez a los años del rey nuestro señor don Felipe III*, 280
- Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego, 235
- Hurtado de Mendoza, Luis, 236
- Huusman, Roeloff, 33
- Idiáquez, Juan de, count of Chinchón, 267, 270-271
- Ignacio de Loyola, 280
- Illustrium Imagines*, 155
- Isabel de Valois, 268
- Isabel I, queen of Castile, 228-229, 252-253, 266
- Isabel of Aragon, 280
- Isabella of Aragon, 41
- Isabella of Bourbon, wife of Philip IV, 278, 284-291, 295-298, 300, 304-308
- Isabella, queen, 100
- Iwain, 106
- Jacquetta of Luxembourg, duchess of Luxembourg, 118
- Jadwiga, princess of Poland, 213
- Jaime I, king of Aragon, 256; *Llibre dels feits*, 256
- James IV, king of Scotland, 141
- James VI, king of Scotland, 203, 211 (= James I, king of England)
- Jason, 124, 280
- Javier, Francisco, 280
- Jean de Sauvage, 228
- Jean, count of Armagnac, 8
- Johanna of Austria, 66-67
- John 'Lackland', 184
- John 'of Gaunt', 140
- John of Luxembourg, 227
- Jonson, Ben, 180, 209; *Every Man out of his Humour*, 209
- Joseph of Arimathea, 115
- Jouffroy, Jean, bishop of Arras, 8
- Juan II, king of Portugal, 251
- Judith, 295
- Julius II, pope, 23-40
- Junius, Franciscus, 201
- Katerina, daughter of Georg of Podiebrad, 213
- Katherine Capet de Valois, 140
- Katherine of Aragon, 139, 140-142, 148
- Kymer, Gilbert, 103, 108
- La Cofanaria*, 67
- Labanha, João Bautista, 270
- Ladislau, king of Hungary, 7, 9-10
- Laguna, Andrés, 246; *Discurso sobre Europa*, 246
- Láinez, Diego, 246
- Lamola, Giovanni, 31
- Landino, Cristoforo, 29
- Langstrother, John, 114, 120
- Lansenberg, Maria, 200
- Lascaris, Costantino, 35
- Laudabile sanctum*, 105: see *Gemma salutaris*
- Laudum sanctibile*, 107
- Lee, Rowland, 151
- Lee, Sir Henry, 204
- Leo X, pope, 147, 150
- Leonardo da Vinci, 37
- Leoni, 253
- Leonico, Nicolò, 33
- Leopardi, Giacomo, 91; *Paralipomeni della Batracomiomachia*, 91
- Livy, 252
- Lope de Vega, 277, 280, 302; *El vellocino de oro*, 280
- López de Ayala, Pero, 251

- López de Toro, 261; *De Rebus Indicis*, 261; *Epistolas*, 261
- López de Velasco, Juan, 261, 265, 270-271
- Lothar II, 157
- Lotti, Cosme, 282
- Louis de Foix, 268
- Louis XI, king of France, 251
- Louis XII, king of France, 30-31, 36, 40, 141, 143, 145-146, 148, 154-155
- Louis XIII, king of France, 284
- Louis XIV, king of France, 284
- Lovati, Lovato, 93
- Lovelich, Henry, 105
- Lucan, 84, 302
- Luchina, sister of Julius II, 27
- Lucian, 33
- Lucretius, 93; *De rerum natura*, 93
- Ludovico degli Arienti, 27; *Oratio de laudibus Borsii*, 27
- Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, 246; *Commentaries on the war in Germany*, 246
- Luther, Martin, 150
- Lydgate, John, 103, 115; *Fall of Princes*, 115
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, 36, 80, 82-83, 88-90, 92; *Discorsi*, 80, 90, 92; *Il Principe*, 82, 88
- Maffei, Raffaele, 25
- Maier de Eck, J., 245
- Maio, Iuniano, 85; *De maiestate*, 85
- Maitland of Lethington, William 196
- Malatesta, Carlo, 23
- Malatesta, Sigismondo, 19
- Maler de Schwaz, Hans, 236
- Malory, Thomas, 114, 118, 123; *Morte d'Arthur*, 105, 114, 205
- Margaret of Anjou, 121
- Margaret of Austria, 227-228, 230-232
- Maria, sister of Philip IV, 284
- Mariana of Austria, 284-287, 289, 300-308
- Mariana, Juan de, 266-267; *Historia de rebus hispaniae*(*Historia general de España*), 266
- Marino, Giovan Battista, 92
- Marlioni, Luigi, 230-231, 233
- Marquis of Siete Iglesias, 278
- Marrasio, Giovanni, 31
- Marshall, Robert, 103
- Marshall, Roger, 123
- Mary of Hungary, 247
- Massimo, Damiano, 37
- Matteo dell'Aquila, 85
- Matteo, Andrea, 89
- Matthias I Corvinus, king of Hungary, 213-225
- Maximilian I, emperor, 28, 31, 133, 148, 158, 215, 227-230, 256
- Mayerne de Tourquet, Louis, 269; *Histoire générale de l'Espagne*, 269
- Medlie, Mr. 194
- Medulla Alchemiae*, 121
- Mehmed, sultan, 16-17
- Melissus, Paul, 194, 198, 201; *Ode Pindarica ad ... Elizabetham Britannae, Franciae, Hibernicae reginam*, 201
- Melusine, 116, 118-119
- Mena, Juan de, 251-252, 302
- Merlin, 102, 104-109, 111, 113-115, 118, 120, 123-124, 126
- Merula, Giorgio, 35
- Mexía, Pedro, 255-256; *Historia imperial y caesarea*, 256; *Historia del Emperador Carlos V*, 256
- Michael, St., 117, 119
- Michelangelo, 23, 30-31, 33
- Mini, Paolo, 70, 75; *Discorso della Nobiltà di Firenze e de Fiorentini*, 70, 75
- Minuziano, Alessandro, 29
- Montalvo, 77
- Morales, Ambrosio de, 262-265; *Parecer sobre la libreria de El Escorial*, 264; *Antigüedades de las ciudades de España*, 265; *La coronica general de España*, 265; *Los cinco libros postreros de la coronica general de*

- España*, 265; *Los otros dos libros de la coronica general de España*, 265
- Morata, Olimpia, 200
- More, Sir Thomas, 92, 135, 144, 149; *Utopia*, 92
- Morone, 245
- Mortimer, Roger, earl, 100, 114, 124
- Morton, John, bishop, 126
- Moses, 23
- Moura, Cristóbal de, 271
- Multon, Robert, prior, 121
- Muñoz, Andrés, 260; *Viaje del Felipe II*, 260
- Nandike, Thomas, physician, 126
- Natural, Philibert, 228
- Navarra, Pedro de, 253, 260; see Pierre d'Albret
- Navarrete, Francisco, 95; *Demetrius*, 95
- Nebrija, Antonio de, 254; *Décadas de la historia de los Reyes Católicos*, 254
- Neville, George, chancellor, 108-109, 113-114, 116, 120-121, 123
- Newton, Isaac, 97
- Niccolò da Correggio, 34
- Niccolò da Gorgonzola, 29
- Nicholas of Cusa, 12, 16
- Nicholas V, pope, 9, 29
- Nifo, Agostino, 88; *De regnandi peritia*, 88; *De rege et tyranno*, 88
- Noah, 255
- Norton, Samuel, 119, 122, 123, 127
- Norton, Thomas, 98, 105-106, 108, 111, 116, 118-120, 122, 125, 127; *Ordinal of Alchemy*, 111, 116, 119, 122, 127
- Noticia del recibimiento i entrada de la Reyna nvestra Señora Doña Maria-Ana de Avstria en la muy noble i leal coronada Villa de Madrid*, 277, 285-286, 290, 301-303
- Ocampo, Florián de, 254-255, 258
- Ockland, Christopher, 201
- Olivares, count, 278-279, 281-284, 296, 298-301
- Orsini, Giangiordano, 29
- Ovid, 1; *Metamorphoses*, 1
- Pacheco, Francisco de, 289; *El arte de la pintura*, 289
- Páez de Castro, Juan, 255-259, 264; *Método para escribir la historia*, 258
- Page, John, 133
- Paladino, Paolo, 85
- Palencia, Alfonso de, 253, 260, 262-263
- Pandolfo, 33
- Panormita, Antonio, 83, 87
- Papponi, Girolamo, 74
- Parmigianino, 243
- Parr of Kendall, Sir Kendall, 142
- Parr, Katherine, 142
- Parry, Blanche, 204
- Paul II, pope, 29
- Paul III, pope, 24, 28, 245
- Pedro de Toledo, 244
- Pedro IV, king of Castile, 251
- Pelayo, king, 266
- Perceval, 107
- Pérez de Almazán, Miguel, 234
- Pérez de Oliva, Fernán, 264
- Pérez, Antonio, 262, 269
- Perrenot de Granvela, Nicolas, 245
- Perugino, 38
- Petrarch, 73, 83, 94
- Pevsner, Nikolaus, 204; *Buildings of England*, 204
- Philip II, king of Spain, 248-275, 277-278, 283, 287, 292, 301
- Philip III, king of Spain, 267, 273, 274, 277-278, 283
- Philip IV, king of Spain, 277-308
- Philip the Handsome, duke of Burgundy, 227-228, 230, 233-234
- Philip V, king of Spain, 95
- Philippe de Commines, 251
- Piatti, Piattino, 35
- Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvio; see Pius II
- Piccolomini, Francesco Bandini, 13

- Pierre d' Albret, bishop, 253
 Pierre de Bourdielle, 268
 Pinturicchio, 31
 Pisanello, 39
 Pius II, 1-4, 8, 11-14, 16-21, 28, 38;
Commentarii rerum memorabilium que temporibus suis contigerunt, 1, 11-20; *Libellus dialogorum de generali concilii auctoritate et gestis Basiliensium*, 9; *Aeneas Silvii ... Historia rerum Friderici III Imperatoris*, 9; *History of Two Lovers*, 14; *Epistola ad Mahomatem*, 17
 Platina, Bartholomeus, 13, 84; *De Principe*, 84
 Plato, 99; *Timaeus*, 99
 Plautus, 26, 41
 Plutarch, 89, 200, 250; *Moralia*, 89, 200
 Poccetti, Bernardino, 70
 Poliziano, Angelo, 40; *Fabula di Orfeo*, 40
 Pollaiuolo, Antonio, 26, 29
Pompa funeral, honras y exequias en la muerte de la muy alta y catolica Señora Doña Isabel, 290
 Pompilius, Numa, 90, 92; *On Hypocrisy*, 90
 Pontano, Giovanni, 28, 81-88, 90, 93; *I libri delle virtù sociali*, 81; *De principe*, 82, 84-85, 89, 94; *De magnanimitate*, 82-84; *De liberalitate*, 84; *De beneficentia*, 84; *De magnificentia*, 84; *De splendore*, 84; *De oboedientia*, 84; *De immanitate*, 83, 85
 Porreño, Baltasar, 249-250; *Dichos y hechos del rey don Felipe II*, 249
 Porzio, Camillo, 88
 Prisciani, Pellegrino, 33, 39-40; *Spectacula*, 40
 Pucci, Pandolfo, 66
 Pulgar, Fernando del, 252-253; *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, 254
 Puteolano, 29
 Quattromani, Camillo, 88
 Quattromani, Sertorio, 88
Queste del Saint Graal, 107
 Quevedo, 302
 Quintilian, 7
 Quiroga, Gaspar de, 269
 Radcliffe, 177
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 206-208, 210; *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia*, 206
 Ramus, Petrus, 198
 Ranzano, Pietro, 85
 Raphael, 23, 34
 Redondo, Fray Gonzalo, 254; *Cartas y Relaciones*, 269
Relacion de la fvneral pompa, 288, 290, 292, 293-295
Relacion de la svntvosa entrada de-baxo de palio en la villa de Madrid, del Rey nuestro Señor Don Felipe Quarto que Dios guarde, 279
 Rémy du Puys, 232
 Requeséns, Luis de, 261-262
 Rhases, Arab physician, 105, 107, 109; *Book of Merlin*, 109
 Riario, Raffaele, 27
 Ribadeneira, Pedro de, 257, 269; *Vida de San Francisco de Borja*, 257
 Rich, Lady Penelope, 193
 Richard II, king of England, 100-102, 125-126, 129, 131, 136, 158-159, 160, 164, 172-173, 176-177, 184
 Richard III, king of England, 125-126, 129, 131, 136, 158-160, 173, 176-177, 184
 Richard, duke of Gloucester and Buckingham, 126
Ripley Scrolls, 112-113, 116-117, 119, 127-128
 Ripley, George, 102, 104, 108, 111, 128; *Cantilena*, 102, 103, 104; *Marrow of Alchemy*, 102, 121; *The Compound of Alchemy*, 108
The Twelve Gates of Alchemy, 109, 111, 123-124, 128

- Robert de Borron, 105, 107, 109, 115, 124; *Estoire de Merlin*, 105, 109, 115; *Perceval*, 105, 107; *Joseph d'Arimatea*, 105, 115; *Estoire de Saint Graal*, 115
- Robert Willoughby de Broke, 178
- Robert, king of Sicily, 80
- Rogers, Daniel, 201
- Rogier van der Weyden, 39
- Rolle, Richard, 102-103
- Rombouts, N., 230
- Rossetti, Biagio, 39
- Rossi, Agostino, 1
- Rubens, Peter Paul, 281-282
- Rucellai, Bernardo, 88
- Rudolf II, emperor, 205
- Ruggieri, Carlo, 94; *The Queen of Scotland*, 95
- Rupescissa, 102-103; *De consideratione quintae essentiae*, 103
- Russel, Elizabeth, 201-202
- Saavedra Fajardo, Diego, 283, 293-294; *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano*, 283; *Empresas políticas*, 283, 293, 294
- Sabadino degli Arienti, 39; *De triumphis religionis*, 39
- Salutati, Coluccio, 80
- San Antonino, 73
- San Filippo Neri, 73
- Sanchez Coello, Alonso, 260
- Sannazaro, Iacopo, 93; *De partu Virginis*, 93
- Santa Cruz, Alonso, 232, 239-240, 262-263
- Savonarola, Michele, 27; *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este al marchionato di Ferrara*, 27
- Sawtry, John, monk, 126
- Schewrlein, Hieronymus, 215
- Schryver, Cornelio, 247
- Scinzenzeler, Giovanni Angelo, 29
- Scipio Africanus, 71, 82-84
- Scipione di Castro, 89, 92; *De' fondamenti dello Stato et instrumenti del regnare*, 89; *Aforismi politici*, 92; *Scelta d'alcune poesie filosofiche di Settimontano Squilla*, 92
- Scrope, Richard, archbishop, 98
- Sebastián de Piombo, 243
- Segni, Bernardo, 72
- Segunda relacion de los casamientos del Principe de la España*, 291
- Seneca, 308
- Seneca, 84, 93; *De otio*, 93
- Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de, 255, 262; *De Rebus Gestis Caroli Quniti Imperatoris et Regis Hispaniae*, 255
- Seripando, 246
- Seymour, Jane, 142
- Seymour, Sir John, 142
- Sforza, Anna, 25
- Sforza, Ascanio Maria, cardinal, 29
- Sforza, Filippo Maria, 24
- Sforza, Francesco, 24-25, 36-37
- Sforza, Galeazzo Maria, 24-25, 29, 36
- Sforza, Gian Galeazzo, 24, 28
- Sforza, Ludovico Maria (il Moro), 24-25, 28, 35, 41
- Shakespeare, William, 195, 198
- Shirwood, John, abbot, 115
- Siculo, Lucio Marino, 254; *De rebus hispaniae memorabilibus*, 254
- Sidney, Sir Philip, 198, 202, 205
- Sidney, Sir Robert, 193, 208
- Sigismund, duke of Austria, 7, 9
- Simmel, Lambert, 143
- Simonetta, Cicco, 28
- Simonetta, Giovanni, 28; *Rerum gestarum Francisci Sfortiae Mediolanensium ducis commentarii*, 28-29
- Sixtus IV, pope, 26-28, 32, 39
- Solari, Guiniforte, 36
- Solomon, 279, 285, 295
- Solomon, 97, 100, 101
- Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, 300
- Soranzo, Francesco, 249-250, 274
- Spagnoli, Battista (Mantovano), 34; *Tropheum pro Gallorum ex Italia expulsionione*, 34; *Carmen de fortuna Francisci Gonzagae*, 34
- Spenser, Edmund, 198, 202, 204, 206-207; *Faerie Queene*, 198,

- 204, 206
Stanley, Ferdinand, 197
Strozzi, Tito Vespasiano, 27; *Borsias*, 27
Stuart, Arbella, 197
Stuart, Charles, prince of Wales, 197, 280-281
Stuart, Mary, queen of Scots, 95, 195-198, 205, 210, 271
Stubbs, John, 205
Suetonius, 155
Summonte, Giovanni Antonio, 88
- Taccone, Baldassarre, 40; *Comedia di Danae*, 40
Talbot, George, 178
Tallis, Thomas, 203
Tasso, Torquato, 89; *Il Malpiglio ovvero de la corte*, 89-90
Tavera, Juan, 234, 241, 248
Tebaldeo; see Tebaldi
Tebaldi, Antonio, 33-34
Telesio, Bernardino, 91, 93
Terence, 20, 41
Teresa of Ávila, 280
Testamentum, 100, 102
The Book of Merlin, 105, 107
The Looking Glass for Illiterate Alchymists, 106
Theodosius the Great, emperor, 221
Thesaurum mundi, 107
Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, 185
Throckmorton, Elizabeth, 206
Thweng, John, 110
Tiberius, 268
Titian, 246-247; *Charles V at Mühlberg*, 246
Tomasso Minadoy, Giovanni, 273
Torrigiano, Pietro, 156
Toscanella, Giovanni, 31
Trento, Stephano, 121
Truchsess, Otto, cardinal, 246
Tudor, Henry, 126
Tudor, Jasper, 110
Tudor, Owain, 140
- Uceda, duke, 284
Utenhove, Karel, 198, 200-201; *Xenia*, 200
Uther Pendragon, king, 105-106, 110, 124
- Valdés, Alfonso de, 238-239, 245; *Dialogue between Lactancio and an Arcediano*, 239
Valla, Lorenzo, 13, 16, 83, 90-91; *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione*, 91
Valori, Baccio, 69, 72-74, 76-77
Valori, Filippo, 75
Valori, Niccolò, 74
Vandenesse, Jean, 260; *Journal des voyages*, 260
Vanini, Gilio Cesare Lucilio, 92
Vasari, Giorgio, 67-68, 71
Vera Tassis, Juan de, 301
Vergerio, Pier Paolo, 91
Veronese, Guarino, 83
Verzosa, Juan de, 259, 261
Vespasiano da Bisticci, 224; *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*, 224
Vespasiano, Tito, 27
Vespucci, Amerigo, 73
Vettori, Maddalena, 70
Vico, Eneas, 246
Vieri, Francesco, 69-70, 75-76; *Il Primo Libro della Nobiltà*, 69
Viglius van Aytta, 262
Villamediana, count, 280; *La gloria de Niquea*, 280
Virgil, 18, 25, 206; *Aeneid*, 18
Visconti, Filippo Maria, 24
Visconti, Gasparo, 35, 40; *Pasitea*, 40
Vital, Lorenzo, 231
Vitrián, Juan de, 251
Vitruvius, 40
Vrunt, Johann, 8
- Waczla, Lord of Tsernahora, 220
Warbeck, Perkin, 143
Warham, William, 135, 141, 146, 186
Whethamstead, John, 103
Whitgift, archbishop, 207
William of Croy, 232-233, 236
William, Prince of Orange, 268;

- Apologie*, 268
Wilson, Thomas, 201
Władisław II, king of Poland, 215,
221, 223
Wolsey, Thomas, cardinal, 135, 144-
149, 180, 186
Woodville, Elizabeth, 118-119, 126,
185
- Wotton, Sir Henry, 211
- Xenophon, 250; *Cyropedia*, 250;
Anabasis, 250
- Zuccari, Frederico, 67
Zúñiga y Velasco, Inés de, 284
Zurita, Jerónimo de, 257, 262-263;
Anales de Aragón, 262-263

BRILL'S STUDIES
IN
INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

80. KLAVER, J.M.I. *Geology and Religious Sentiment. The Effect of Geological Discoveries on English Society and Literature between 1829 and 1859.* 1997. ISBN 90 04 10882 3
81. INGLIS, J. *Spheres of Philosophical Inquiry and the Historiography of Medieval Philosophy.* 1998. ISBN 90 04 10843 2
82. McCALLA, A. *A Romantic Historiosophy. The Philosophy of History of Pierre-Simon Ballanche.* 1998. ISBN 90 04 10967 6
83. VEENSTRA, J.R. *Magic and Divination at the Courts of Burgundy and France. Text and Context of Laurens Pignon's Contre les devineurs (1411).* 1998. ISBN 90 04 10925 0
84. WESTERMAN, P.C. *The Disintegration of Natural Law Theory. Aquinas to Finnis.* 1998. ISBN 90 04 10999 4
85. GOUWENS, K. *Remembering the Renaissance. Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome.* 1998. ISBN 90 04 10969 2
86. SCHOTT, H. & J. ZINGUER (Hrsg.). *Paracelsus und seine internationale Rezeption in der frühen Neuzeit. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paracelsismus.* 1998. ISBN 90 04 10974 9
87. ÅKERMAN, S. *Rose Cross over the Baltic. The Spread of Rosicrucianism in Northern Europe.* 1998. ISBN 90 04 11030 5
88. DICKSON, D.R. *The Tessera of Antilia. Utopian Brotherhoods & Secret Societies in the Early Seventeenth Century.* 1998. ISBN 90 04 11032 1
89. NOUHUY, T. VAN. *The Two-Faced Janus. The Comets of 1577 and 1618 and the Decline of the Aristotelian World View in the Netherlands.* 1998. ISBN 90 04 11204 9
90. MUESSIG, C. (ed.). *Medieval Monastic Preaching.* 1998. ISBN 90 04 10883 1
91. FORCE, J.E. & D.S. KATZ (eds.). "Everything Connects": *In Conference with Richard H. Popkin. Essays in His Honor.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 110984
92. DEKKER, K. *The Origins of Old Germanic Studies in the Low Countries.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 11031 3
93. ROUHI, L. *Mediation and Love. A Study of the Medieval Go-Between in Key Romance and Near-Eastern Texts.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 11268 5
94. AKKERMAN, F., A. VANDERJAGT & A. VAN DER LAAN (eds.). *Northern Humanism between 1469 and 1625.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 11314 2
95. TRUMAN, R.W. *Spanish Treatises on Government, Society and Religion in the Time of Philip II. The 'de regimine principum' and Associated Traditions.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 11379 7
96. NAUTA, L. & A. VANDERJAGT (eds.). *Demonstration and Imagination. Essays in the History of Science and Philosophy Presented to John D. North.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 11468 8
97. BRYSON, D. *Queen Jeanne and the Promised Land. Dynasty, Homeland, Religion and Violence in Sixteenth-Century France.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 11378 9
98. GOUDRIAAN, A. *Philosophische Gotteserkenntnis bei Suárez und Descartes im Zusammenhang mit der niederländischen reformierten Theologie und Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 11627 3
99. HEITSCH, D.B. *Practising Reform in Montaigne's Essais.* 2000. ISBN 90 04 11630 3
100. KARDAUN, M. & J. SPRUYT (eds.). *The Winged Chariot. Collected Essays on Plato and Platonism in Honour of L.M. de Rijk.* 2000. ISBN 90 04 11480 7
101. WHITMAN, J. (ed.). *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period.* 2000. ISBN 90 04 11039 9
102. JACQUETTE, D. *David Hume's Critique of Infinity.* 2000. ISBN 90 04 11649 4
103. BUNGE, W. VAN. *From Stevin to Spinoza. An Essay on Philosophy in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic.* 2001. ISBN 90 04 12217 6
104. GIANOTTI, T. *Al-Ghazālī's Unspeakable Doctrine of the Soul. Unveiling the Esoteric Psychology and Eschatology of the Ihyā.* 2001. ISBN 90 04 12083 1

105. SAYGIN, S., *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447) and the Italian Humanists*. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12015 7
106. BEJCZY, I., *Erasmus and the Middle Ages*. The Historical Consciousness of a Christian Humanist. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12218 4
107. BRANN, N.L. *The Debate over the Origin of Genius during the Italian Renaissance*. The Theories of Supernatural Frenzy and Natural Melancholy in Accord and in Conflict on the Threshold of the Scientific Revolution. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12362 8
108. ALLEN, M.J.B. & V. REES with M. DAVIES. (eds.), *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*. 2002. ISBN 90 04 11855 1
109. SANDY, G., *The Classical Heritage in France*. 2002. ISBN 90 04 11916 7
110. SCHUCHARD, M.K., *Restoring the Temple of Vision*. Cabalistic Freemasonry and Stuart Culture. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12489 6
111. EIJNATTEN, J. VAN. *Liberty and Concord in the United Provinces*. Religious Toleration and the Public in the Eighteenth-Century Netherlands. 2003. ISBN 90 04 12843 3
112. BOS, A.P. *The Soul and Its Instrumental Body*. A Reinterpretation of Aristotle's Philosophy of Living Nature. 2003. ISBN 90 04 13016 0
113. LAURSEN, J.C. & J. VAN DER ZANDE (eds.). *Early French and German Defenses of Liberty of the Press*. Elie Luzac's *Essay on Freedom of Expression* (1749) and Carl Friedrich Bahrdt's *On Liberty of the Press and its Limits* (1787) in English Translation. 2003. ISBN 90 04 13017 9
114. POTT, S., M. MULSOW & L. DANNEBERG (eds.). *The Berlin Refuge 1680-1780*. Learning and Science in European Context. 2003. ISBN 90 04 12561 2
115. GERSH, S. & B. ROEST (eds.). *Medieval and Renaissance Humanism*. Rhetoric, Representation and Reform. 2003. ISBN 90 04 13274 0
116. LENNON, T.M. (ed.). *Cartesian Views*. Papers presented to Richard A. Watson. 2003. ISBN 90 04 13299 6
117. VON MARTELS, Z. & A. VANDERJAGT (eds.). *Pius II – 'El Più Expeditivo Pontefice'*. Selected Studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405-1464). 2003. ISBN 90 04 13190 6
118. GOSMAN, M., A. MACDONALD & A. VANDERJAGT (eds.). *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650*. Volume One. 2003. ISBN 90 04 13572 3; Volume Two. 2005. ISBN 90 04 13690 8
119. LEHRICH, C.I. *The Language of Demons and Angels*. Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy. 2003. ISBN 90 04 13574 X
120. BUNGE, W. VAN (ed.). *The Early Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic, 1650-1750*. Selected Papers of a Conference held at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel 22-23 March 2001. 2003. ISBN 90 04 13587 1
121. ROMBURGH, S. VAN, "For My Worthy Friend Mr Franciscus Junius." An Edition of the Correspondence of Francis Junius F.F. (1591-1677). 2004. ISBN 90 04 12880 8
122. MULSOW, M. & R.H. POPKIN (eds.). *Secret Conversions to Judaism in Early Modern Europe*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 12883 2
123. GOUDRIAAN, K., J. VAN MOOLENBROEK & A. TERVOORT (eds.). *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400-1600*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13644 4
124. PETRINA, A. *Cultural Politics in Fifteenth-Century England: The Case of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13713 0
125. SCHUURMAN, P. *Ideas, Mental Faculties and Method*. The Logic of Ideas of Descartes and Locke and Its Reception in the Dutch Republic, 1630-1750. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13716 5
126. BOCKEN, I. *Conflict and Reconciliation: Perspectives on Nicholas of Cusa*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13826 9
127. OTTEN, W. *From Paradise to Paradigm*. A Study of Twelfth-Century Humanism. 2004. ISBN 90 04 14061 1
128. VISSER, A.S.Q. *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image*. The Use of the Emblem in Late-Renaissance Humanism. 2005. ISBN 90 04 13866 8
129. MOOIJ, J.J.A. *Time and Mind*. History of a Philosophical Problem. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14152 9